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Editor's Corner

This first issue of volume 82 introduces a few design changes intended to make the magazine more readable and attractive. The new typeface represents a style familiar in the eighteenth century and now often employed in academic publishing. I hope subscribers will find it especially pleasing to the eye and the single-column format more in keeping with our quarterly appearances and purposes.

The magazine also changes somewhat in its table of contents—though deviating little if at all from its familiar service to the society. This issue introduces new or revived features—a section for brief research notes or sidelights on Maryland history and a list of books we have received but because of their length or focus have not assigned for review. The magazine no longer attempts to publish a distinct genealogical journal within its pages, but solicits, as always, interesting pieces on local and family history.

For more on submissions and the form they should follow, please refer to the Contributors' Guidelines published herein.

I wish to greet and thank most heartily for their willingness to help with the magazine Barbara Jeanne Fields, newest member of the board of editors, and the four assistant editors whose names appear above. Professor Fields, a student of the nineteenth-century black experience in Maryland, joins an advisory group whose members serve four-year terms and meet bi-annually. Our new assistant editors will help the magazine to develop the closest possible ties with every part of the state and with both academic institutions and county historical societies. Assistant editors have agreed to search their localities for material suitable to the magazine, keep us informed on the publications of local presses, and aid us in reviewing works of special interest.

The editors appreciate readers' comments on these changes and generally any suggestions about the magazine. In order to explore taking another new tack, we also would be glad to hear from (or about) those bookstore owners willing, on a trial basis, to place copies of the magazine on sale. We want in particular to reach every region in the state. Finally, we encourage persons or firms with advertising suitable to the magazine to write the associate editor for a statement of terms.

In Memoriam: Robert G. Merrick

Members of the Maryland Historical Society mourn the passing of one of Baltimore's twentieth-century leaders in business and philanthropy, Robert Graff Merrick, who died at his home last November 22nd. Born in 1895, he grew up in a family and time that placed great stress on the obligations one owed society. In 1917 he left studies at Johns Hopkins to enlist in the army and meet his duty in the Great War. Afterward, having completed bachelor's and doctoral degrees at Hopkins, he entered upon a financial career that led in 1932 to the presidency of Equitable Trust Company. The success of that firm over the next 35 years—its assets increasing more than twentyfold—owed heavily to his hard work, leadership, and sound business judgment.

All the while, Mr. Merrick served his community in a variety of public and charitable roles. An ardent athlete, he lent his time to the city Playground Athletic League—a creation of Progressives and forerunner of the department of recreation. He was a trustee of the Kernan Hospital for Crippled Children. After World War II, when Baltimore faced severe problems of overcrowding and urban decay, he sat on the Baltimore Housing Authority and led the fight for further spending to meet this basic human need. Mr. Merrick played a large part in the intellectual and cultural life of Baltimore—giving of his time and generous in his support of Johns Hopkins University and the Baltimore Museum of Art.

Fortunately for all of us, he loved history—whether it meant the art, architecture, photography, cartography, or manuscript records of the past, or the attempt to study and understand history. Benefactor of the Westminster Church Preservation Trust and Peale Municipal Museum in Baltimore, the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis, and the Maryland Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, he most recently took special interest in recreating a Chesapeake puny, the *Lady Maryland*, and in restoring the early nineteenth century Carroll mansion, Homewood House, on the Hopkins campus. Not long ago Mr. Merrick made a substantial grant to Johns Hopkins University Press to assist in the publication of books about Baltimore, Maryland, and the Chesapeake region; additional bequests helped to underwrite the costs of such impressive titles as the Edward C. Papenfuss and Joseph M. Coale III atlas of Maryland historical maps (1982) and two charming Mame and Marion Warren volumes drawing on early photographs of Baltimore and Maryland as a whole. Merrick-related foundations and he himself generously sponsored the forthcoming France-Merrick history of the state.

Mr. Merrick made especially noteworthy contributions to the Maryland Historical Society. His collection of historical prints, built up since youth and an extension of his father's own interest in them, made up an important society publication, Lois B. McCauley's volume of Maryland historical prints, in 1975. The following year he donated the entire collection (until then on display at Equitable Trust) to the society. After helping measurably to finance the operating costs of the society and to pay for enlargement of the society's library and museum building in 1981,

Mr. Merrick paid for installation of a stunning first-floor feature, his bank's old Counting Room (dating from 1941), which had been dismantled when the bank moved its offices. With his customary elan Mr. Merrick aimed the octagonal Counting Room—with its wooden paneling, twin fireplaces, and Georgian chandelier hanging from a domed ceiling—"to be one of the most beautiful rooms in America." With his usual humility and sense of humor, he said that he wished to be remembered most for his .520 batting average as a student at the Jefferson School for Boys.

We shall not forget. We are grateful, and we will miss him.



Manorial Maryland

GARRY WHEELER STONE

Maryland is a province not commonly known in England, because the name of Virginia includes or clouds it, it is a country wholly belonging to that honorable gentleman the Lord of Baltimore, granted to him by patent under the broad seal of England long since, and at his charge settled. . . . It is . . . separated or parted from Virginia, by a river of ten miles broad, called Potomac River; the commodities and manner of living as in Virginia, the soil somewhat more temperate (as being more northerly). Many stately and navigable rivers are contained in it, plentifully stored with wholesome springs, a rich and pleasant soil. . . .

John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel* (1656).¹

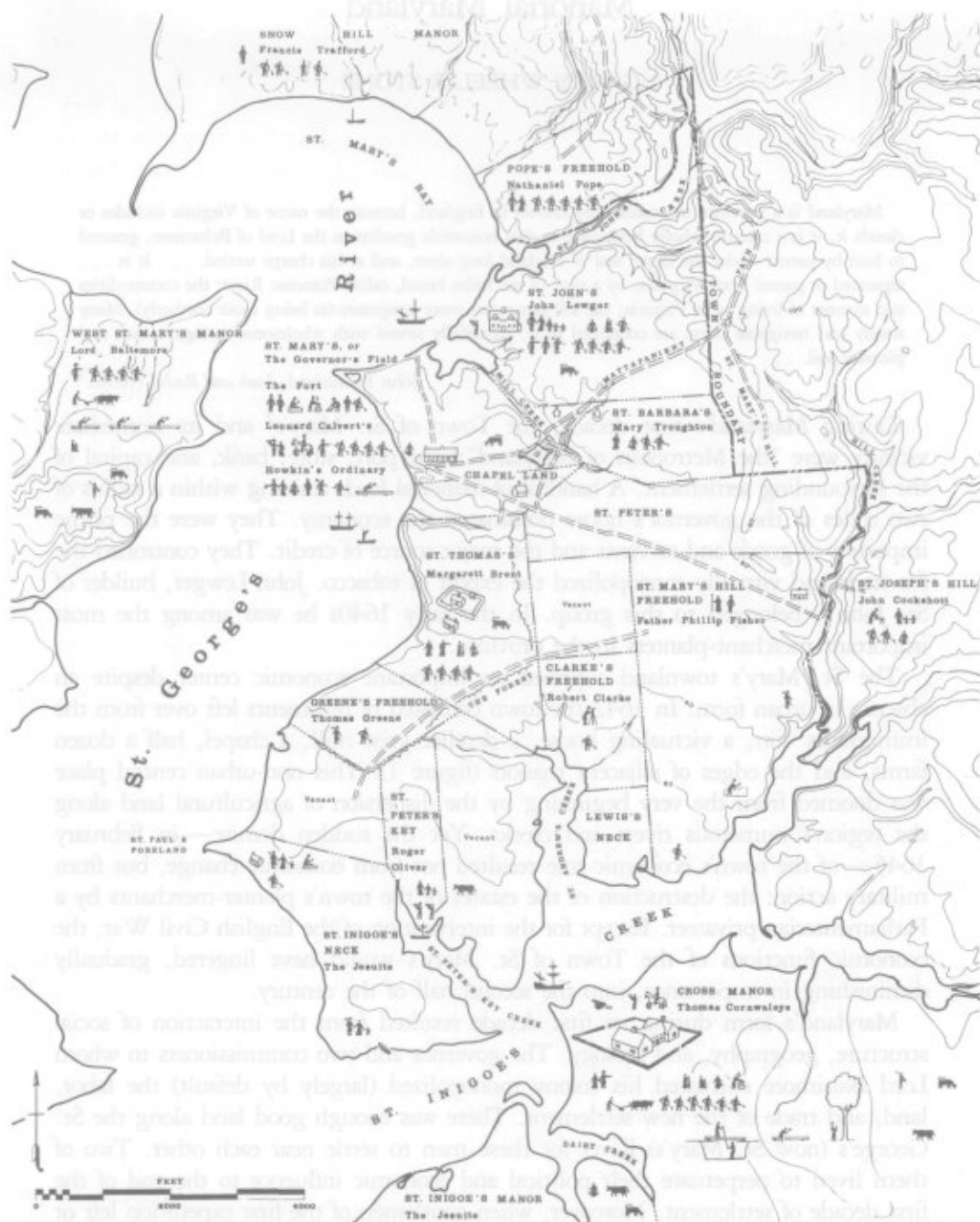
During Maryland's first decade, the Town of St. Mary's² and its immediate vicinity were "the Metropolis of Maryland":³ the port, store, bank, and capital of the surrounding settlement. A handful of manorial lords residing within a radius of two miles of the governor's house dominated the economy. They were the prime importers of goods and servants and the major source of credit. They controlled the fur trade and virtually monopolized the export of tobacco. John Lewger, builder of St. John's, belonged to this group. In the early 1640s he was among the most important merchant-planters in the province.

The St. Mary's townland supplied an important economic center despite an absence of urban form. In 1642 the town consisted of tenements left over from the immigrants' fort, a victualing house, a derelict grist mill, a chapel, half a dozen farms, and the edges of adjacent manors (figure 1). This non-urban central place was doomed from the very beginning by the dispersion of agricultural land along the region's numerous rivers and creeks. Yet the sudden demise—in February 1645—of the town's economic role resulted not from economic change, but from military action: the destruction of the estates of the town's planter-merchants by a Parliamentary privateer. Except for the intervention of the English Civil War, the economic functions of the Town of St. Mary's would have lingered, gradually diminishing in importance, into the second half of the century.

Maryland's form during its first decade resulted from the interaction of social structure, geography, and biology. The governor and two commissioners to whom Lord Baltimore entrusted his colony monopolized (largely by default) the labor, land, and trade of the new settlement. There was enough good land along the St. George's (now St. Mary's) River for these men to settle near each other. Two of them lived to perpetuate their political and economic influence to the end of the first decade of settlement. Moreover, when gentlemen of the first expedition left or died, like men replaced them.



Garry Stone serves as Chief Archaeologist and Director of Research at Historic St. Mary's City.



THE TOWN AND PORT OF ST. MARY'S, 1642

Garry Wheeler Stone/Clash K. Buech 1979

Figure 1.

The Town and Port of St. Mary's, 1642. One symbol equals one person. Source: Garry Wheeler Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewger's St. John's" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982).

The immigrating society transported on the *Ark of Maryland* was highly stratified. The governor, two commissioners, and the Society of Jesus controlled at least two-thirds of the 120 servants. Apparently only four of the fourteen other gentlemen adventurers transported the minimum number of men—five—to qualify for manorial grants. The investments of other gentlemen were modest: two or three servants, a share in the joint stock, or only their own transportation.⁴ Heavy attrition among the original adventurers exaggerated this early stratification. At the end of 1638, only six gentlemen adventurers remained in Maryland from the original expedition—two priests, two minor investors, Governor Calvert, and Commissioner Cornwaleys. While the Calverts wanted a stratified society, they had hoped to attract more major investors to their colonial enterprise. The limited appeal of a Catholic haven presented a major problem that the second Lord Baltimore never did overcome.⁵

Servants also were stratified. Highest in social status were the gentlemen employees of the major investors: their overseers, factors, and surveyor. Equal in economic status were the master craftsmen among the expedition's carpenters, shipwrights, and smiths (indentured men who were paid good wages). At the bottom of the hierarchy were the semi-skilled and unskilled migrants: laborers, maids, and boys. They served for four years, five years, or more in return for only their keep, transportation, and freedom dues.⁶

The establishment of Maryland was a family venture, the personal project of George Calvert, the first Baron of Baltimore (d. 1632), his eldest son, the second Lord, and their relatives and friends. The Calvert family's goals for Maryland included the patriotic, religious, and financial. Other than complications caused by their religion, the Calverts—starting a high-risk land development corporation with limited funds—faced typical problems of attracting capital and returning a profit. The first Lord Baltimore's solution to both problems was the generous distribution of land under conditions that would attract substantial investors, gentlemen who could provide the social and financial foundations of a new society.⁷

The Calverts' plan for populating their colony and profiting from it was to grant land to immigrants in return for payment of a nominal yearly rent. These rents—quitrents—amounted to ls. 4d. for every 100 acres of freehold and 2s. for every 100 acres of a manor. But they held the promise that if enough tenants immigrated to Maryland, the volume of small rents would make the Calverts wealthy (as it eventually did in the eighteenth century). Since costs of transporting a settler to the new world were high, estimated at £20 sterling, the land grants offered were correspondingly generous: 100 acres for every adult (50 acres for every child). Transporting five able-bodied men qualified large investors for a bonus grant of 1,000 acres with the privilege of erecting the grant into a manor, naming it, and holding courts baron and leet. To the investors in the first expedition, the bonus was even greater: 2,000 acres for every five adult men transported.⁸

By granting manorial privileges with large tracts, the Calverts aimed to attract to Maryland the younger sons of England's landed gentry—men for whom England offered limited opportunity to achieve wealth or status. The manorial privileges were more than promotional gimmicks. Both George Calvert and his son Cecilius, the second baron, intended manors to supply the building blocks of a new

society. Manors, they hoped, would fabricate the social structure so conspicuously lacking in Virginia's second and third decades. A hierarchical society based on land and rents duplicated the social system familiar to the lords Baltimore as English landowners and colonizers of Ireland. Proposed for New England, the scheme again appeared when new lords proprietor organized Carolina and Pennsylvania.

The Maryland plan met with some success. Eight of the first adventurers were well connected—sons of his lordship, knights, or members of Parliament. Their small numbers forced the second Lord Baltimore to finance much of the expedition out of his own pocket, an expense he could not afford. The Calverts' mistrusted minority religion limited Maryland's appeal to a tiny minority of the English population. There was also a contradiction in the Calverts' means for populating Maryland. They envisioned a hierarchical society. Yet to attract settlers and servants they offered cheap land, high wages, and short periods of service, thus combining all the ingredients needed, in time, to create a vigorous class of middling planters.⁹



When Lord Baltimore's settlers sailed into Chesapeake Bay, they entered a riverine universe formed less than 10,000 years ago when waters from melting icecaps flooded the valley of the Susquehanna River.¹⁰ The result was a gridiron of watery streets, the south-trending Chesapeake draining east-west tributaries. These drowned valleys, practically canals, provided an excellent transportation system for collecting and exporting bulky agricultural produce. At Yoacomico, the neck between the Potomac and Patuxent was only nine miles wide. While above Portoback it widened to more than thirty miles, navigable creeks subdivided the neck further. No point in the vicinity of St. Mary's stood more than ten miles from navigable water; most good agricultural soils lay along the rivers, because the effective distance was much less. Almost all first-generation settlers lived within a mile of a boat landing.

Maryland's coastal plain represented the exposed surface of an immensely thick sheet of sediments tipped into the Atlantic from the rock-based continent to the west. Millennia of erosion had reduced surface sediment to narrow ribbons between the rivers, which took re-loosened sediment, mixed with new silt brought down from the piedmont, and made a series of terraces stepping down to the present sea level from an elevation of about forty feet.¹¹

Between the Potomac and Patuxent lay a flat upland generally unsuited for farming. Beneath its silty surface was a fragipan, a slowly permeable layer of cemented soil that held ground water near the surface for months at a time. Poor land for most crops, it grew only low quality tobacco. Broad terraces along the north shore of the Potomac also were poorly drained. While fair corn land, these silty soils lacked the aeration necessary to grow good tobacco. One found better soils—the well-drained sandy loams, loams, and silt loams—where coarser sediments accumulated: in small patches in the Potomac terraces, along its tributaries, and especially along the Patuxent. Terraces on the south side of the Patuxent formed an almost continuous band of sandy loams and well-drained silt loams excellent for corn, wheat, and tobacco.

The Indian fields purchased by Leonard Calvert occupied the margin of one of the most fertile terraces in the lower Potomac drainage—a level plateau forty to

fifty feet above the St. George's River. The terrace stretched from the foot of St. Mary's Hill to the heads of St. Andrew's Creek. Then the ground dropped to a lower terrace that continued south to St. Inigoe's Creek. While the upper terrace compared to the best Patuxent land, the lower one suffered from poor drainage and was infertile except for thin stretches along the river banks. These two terraces comprised the future St. Mary's townland, a neck bounded on the west by the river and on the south and southeast by tidal St. Inigoe's Creek. Two silted tributaries—St. John's Creek and Hill Creek—narrowed the connection to the upland. Four minor streams sliced the peninsula into a series of smaller necks. In 1638, the northernmost became St. John's Freehold, home of Secretary John Lewger.

Except for the Indian clearings, tidal marshes, and a few small barrens, all of early Maryland consisted of high woods, largely oaks, affording the settlers an immense amount of material. According to *A Relation of Maryland* (1635):

The timber of these parts is very good and in abundance. It is useful for building of houses and ships. The white oak is good for pipe-staves, the red oak for wainscot. There is also walnut, cedar, pine, and cypress; chestnut, elm, ash, and poplar; all which are for building and husbandry. Also there are diverse sorts of fruit trees, as mulberries, persimmons, with several other kind of plums, and vines, in great abundance. The mast {acorns} and the chestnuts, and what roots they find in the woods, do feed the swine very fat.¹²

Quality and type of timber varied with the soil. Trees grew best in the recent alluvium along the streams; the white oak of the "kettle-bottom" uplands frequently was stunted. Chestnut grew throughout the region, most common where the higher ground was well drained and especially on the sandy slopes above the Patuxent terraces. The best-drained terraces supported mixed hardwood, largely white and red oak. Tulip popular and sweet gum were common in the damper terraces and along the streams. On the low Potomac terraces, there were large stands of loblolly pine.¹³

The woods the settlers entered were magnificent parks, "not choked up with underscrubs," but the trees "so far distant from each other as a coach and four horses may travel without molestation." These parks were not "virgin" forests, but the deliberate creation of the Indians, who frequently fired the litter on the forest floor to drive deer or clear the undergrowth. When Captain John Smith asked a Rappahannock Indian "What was beyond the mountains?" He answered, 'The Sun.' But of anything else he knew nothing, 'because the woods were not burnt.' " Smith explained in a marginal note: "They cannot travel, but where the woods are burnt." The burnings removed the undergrowth and fallen wood, destroyed the more flammable species such as cedar, and spaced out the trees as losses went unreplaced. In dry spots along the edge of the upland, where the forest litter burned especially intensively, the fires killed even mature trees. Small meadows or "barrens" resulted. There was a particularly large meadow, "a barren plain," just east of the St. Mary's townland above the forks of Hill Creek.¹⁴



Geography and social structure ensured the eventual development of a plantation system comparable to Cecilius Baltimore's expectations. Initially the Marylanders huddled in a fortified camp while they met their immediate needs for shelter and subsistence, took stock of their aboriginal neighbors, and familiarized themselves

with their new environment. It is uncertain how quickly they scattered to plantations. In 1974 Lois Green Carr suggested that the dispersion began before 1637 and was complete by the end of that year.¹⁵ I hypothesize that the migration from the fort began in 1637 (after receipt of the 1636 elaborated conditions of plantation) and did not end until 1638. No records survive from 1635–37. We can only conjecture the events of this period from the records that John Lewger began to keep on 30 December 1637 and the surviving correspondence from 1638.

Some of the data support the Carr hypothesis. During 1636 a few settlers lived outside the St. Mary's townlands. The Jesuit plantation at St. Inigoe's could not have been started later than 1636 (in 1637 it produced large crops of corn and tobacco).¹⁶ At West St. Mary's Manor, Henry Fleete had cleared land, built a house, and seated tenants before leaving Maryland in 1638.¹⁷ But these cases seem exceptional. Fleete, an experienced frontiersman, had no fear of the local Indians, and the Jesuits were the most aggressive agriculturalists among the first immigrants. All other references suggest that in 1637–38, the other tracts surrounding the town and fields of St. Mary's were wilderness or new clearings.

Not until in the late 1630s did settlers begin hacking other plantations along the St. George's River out of the wilderness. Wickliffe's Creek was settled in 1637–38 by freed servants and new immigrants,¹⁸ and future plantations to the south and west of it were not settled until 1638–39.¹⁹ A carpentry contract of 1 May 1637 may mark the beginning of construction on Cross Manor. Captain Cornwaleys did not move there until after July 1638, and the buildings on Snow Hill Manor were not finished until 1639.²⁰ To the east of the townland the fertile plateau of St. Joseph's Hill was not planted until 1641.²¹ The first record of a freehold is from 1636 (old style), a date that probably refers to January–March 1637 (the grantee was a former indentured servant of the Jesuits).²²

From April 1634 until 1637, most Marylanders may have lived in a palisaded village at St. Mary's, a nucleated settlement surrounded by its open fields. Throughout the period, its housing seems to have been within or immediately around the pales. Settlers broke up the open fields of the fort into farms in 1638; subsequent surveys (1639–41) mention only the buildings (some of them described as "newly set up") of the grantees. Surveyors used no rotting cottages or other ghosts of former residences as landmarks, and normally they did so when one existed (the Governor's Field and St. John's surveys mention a former "rayle," the fort, the mill, and a carpenter's cabin).²³

During these first years, the inhabitants of St. Mary's, like English villagers of the Midlands, walked to work each day into the "many large fields of excellent land, cleared from all wood," which had persuaded Calvert to settle at St. Mary's.²⁴ By the fall of 1639 the fields extended over three-fourths of a mile south of the fort along the river bank (the surveys for the White House, Sisters' Freehold, and Greene's Freehold tracts all place their east bounds in "the Forest").²⁵ During the first season, the Indian fields around the fort may have developed into a crazy quilt of plots, as the settlers took time from their construction work to set garden seeds and maize to supplement the Indians' plantings.²⁶ Later the open fields seem to have been parcelled out to the adventurers in large blocks, and a trace of these subdivisions survived in the Marylanders' calling land around the fort the "Governor's Field."

In 1637, the adventurers began seating their other manor lands: the Jesuits at Mattapanient, Cornwaleys at St. Inigoe's, and Justinian Snow (a merchant arrived since 1634) at Snow Hill. By the end of the year, Calvert had seated tenants on Trinity Manor and Hawley had a quarter and tenants at St. Jerome's.²⁷ While many of the settlers continued to live in the fort well into 1638,²⁸ when the Brents arrived at St. Mary's, large sections of the town fields remained vacant. That winter they began developing plantations on the former open fields south of Key Swamp.²⁹

Temporary open-field farming around a compact settlement was a common frontier pattern. In Maryland it seems to have survived for three growing seasons—even though the adventurers normally would have begun developing manors in 1635 or 1636. Several factors may explain their persistence at St. Mary's: a lingering fear of their Conoy neighbors,³⁰ the preoccupation of governor and commissioners with the fur trade,³¹ and a reluctance to begin seating their manors until after the arrival of Lord Baltimore. Baltimore had intended to emigrate with the first expedition but postponed his departure from year to year fearing political attacks from the Virginia Interest. He did not want his absence to delay development. In 1633 he directed that each adventurer be assigned "his proportion of land . . . according to . . . the conditions of plantation." These assignments were made, but his adventurers may have been reluctant to invest major sums in manors to which they had no clear title. In August 1636 Baltimore realized that his departure would be delayed even longer. At the "suit" of the adventurers "that We would be pleased to grant unto them under our Great Seal . . . such proportions and quantities of land . . . as We have heretofore propounded," he authorized Leonard Calvert to grant land, updated the conditions of plantation, and drafted model documents for manorial and freehold grants.³² Receipt of these documents in Maryland seems to have been the signal for the St. Mary's settlement to disperse. Maryland then could begin to take the form Lord Baltimore and the adventurers envisioned.

Lord Baltimore copied his settlement pattern—large plantations scattered along navigable waterways administered from a port town—from Virginians on the James River. Whether he inherited this model from his father (who had visited Virginia in 1629) or based it on his own knowledge of Virginia development, it represented a reasonable projection built on an accurate assessment of Virginia's geography in the 1620s.³³ During the first decade, Maryland—except for Kent Island and the Jesuit plantations on the Patuxent—was largely a Potomac settlement. Expansion from the fort at St. Mary's took place in three phases: patenting of land southeast of the townlands by the first adventurers; a migration of small freeholders across the St. George's River to Wickliffe's and St. George's Creeks; and then expansion up the Potomac. A fourth phase, the surveying of scattered tracts along the Potomac and Patuxent, ended in 1642 with the Susquehannock War (figure 2).

Except for Henry Fleete, the 1634 adventurers selected land away from the Indian settlements, in the large, protected neck formed by the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac and St. George's rivers. Principal adventurers claimed most of the peninsula. Richard Gerrard (who sold to the Jesuits), Thomas Cornwaleys, John Saunders, and Jerome Hawley took up 12,000 acres south and east of the town-

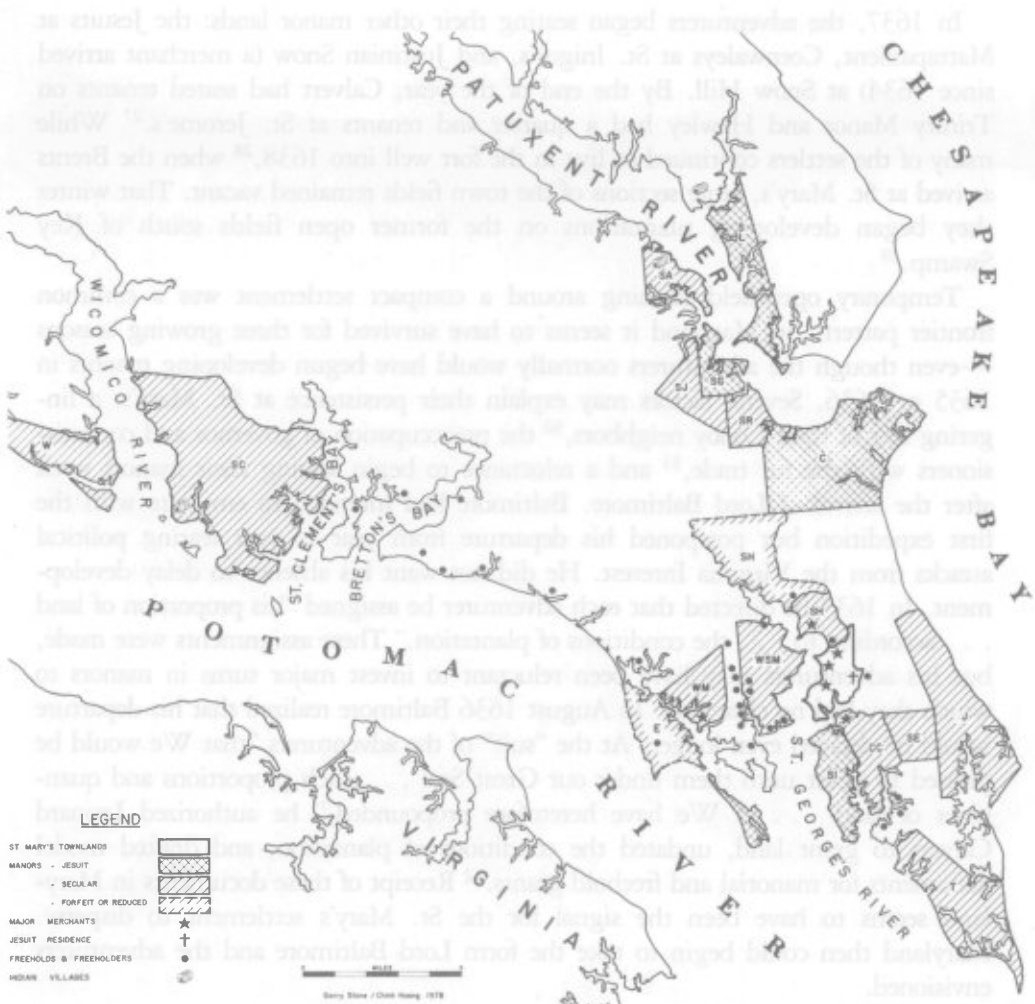


Figure 2. Land distribution in St. Mary's County, 1642.

Abbreviations to Manors:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| W = Wolleston | SI = St. Inigoe's | SL = St. Leonard's |
| SC = St. Clement's | CC = Cornwaleys's Cross | SA = St. Anne's |
| E = Evelinton | SE = St. Elizabeth's | SJ = St. Joseph's |
| WM = Westbury | J = St. Jerome's | SG = St. Gregory's |
| WSM = West St. Mary's | T = Trinity, St. Gabriel's, and | SR = St. Richard's |
| SH = Snow Hill | St. Michael's | C = Conception |

land. Three manors (3,000 acres) surveyed for Governor Calvert occupied the end of the peninsula. Between these large blocks was a strip of about 5,000 acres of land. One assumes it was divided among the other adventurers in blocks of 1,000 or 2,000 acres. Only one record remains of these conjectured grants, a 1,000 acre neck granted to a 1634 Virginia immigrant, a carpenter who transported six servants. The other probable grantees, middling investors in the expedition, all returned to English or died before the temporary grants of 1634–35 were replaced by formal surveys and patents.³⁴

After Justinian Snow seated 6,000 acre Snow Hill Manor, little good land remained unclaimed around the townland. When small planters (immigrants from Virginia or freed indentured servants) began taking up land in early 1637, they were forced to the west bank of the St. George's River below West St. Mary's Manor. There they quickly were hemmed in by large grants along St. George's Creek. After Thomas Gerrard established St. Clement's Manor up the Potomac next to the Indian town of Mattapanient (Smith's "Secowocomoco"), a scattering of middling and small planters followed. They settled south of St. Clement's Manor along Bretton's Bay and the Potomac.³⁵

The Patuxent settlement was an outgrowth of the Jesuit mission to the Patuxents. About 1637, "Maquacomen, the King of the Patuxent," gave the priests the plantation of Mattapanient at the mouth of the River, one of the three Patuxent manors surveyed for the Society in 1639.³⁶ Until 1642, English settlement on the Patuxent—other than the fort at Patuxent Town—was limited to the Jesuit lands and adjacent St. Richard's Manor, settled by Richard Garnett in 1637 (the relationship between Garnett and the Society is not known, but it seems to have been very close).³⁷ In 1640, John Lewger patented St. Anne's Manor, but probably only as a real estate investment. It included excellent Indian fields³⁸ and remained unseared. In early 1642 the Patuxent settlements began to grow. A former Jesuit servant returned with his wife, daughter, and four servants to seat a manor; one of the Jesuits' tenants and three immigrants surveyed small freeholds.³⁹ Then in August of that year a Susquehannock attack left the Patuxent frontier a shambles—the Jesuit mission plundered and a servant killed; three of their tenants dead, others forced up. John Lewger surrendered his patent for St. Anne's Manor. Two of the survivors—Richard Garnett and a Jesuit tenant—retreated to the relative safety of tenements on Snow Hill Manor. The townland vicinity to which they returned was significantly different from that of 1634–37.⁴⁰

By the end of 1642, the Town of St. Mary's had ceased to be a communal bivouac. Open fields had been broken up in the 1630s, and late in 1642 Leonard Calvert took possession of the buildings within the fort, extinguishing the rights of their previous owners (the land had been patented by Calvert in 1641). That winter his servants pulled down the rotting remains of the palisades. Except for the tenements surviving from the fort, the townland had taken the form it would have for the next two and a half decades: a neighborhood of small farms that included the homes of the colony's officials (figure 1). The town differed vastly from what Cecilus Calvert had envisioned.⁴¹ He had planned a town taking a European form, made up of the Proprietor's fortified residence, an attached chapel, and an adjacent town. In 1633 he instructed his settlers to construct within or next to the fort "a convenient house, and a church or chapel . . . for the seat of his Lordship or his Governor." Nearby, streets were "to be marked out where they intend to place the town." The adventurers were to build "one by another . . . in as decent and uniform a manner as their abilities and the place will afford." Besides houselots, the adventurers were to have their just proportions of land in the town fields as well as their manorial grants in "the country adjoining."⁴²

Baltimore's instructions as to what his settlers should build cataloged improvements at Jamestown in the late 1620s. When the resources of Virginia were tallied in 1625, the enumerators found "BELONGING TO JAMES CITY: church, 1; a

large court of guard, 1; pieces of ordnance mounted, 4;" and 15 houselots ranging in size from one sixth of an acre to seven acres. Many of the houses fronted on two parallel streets along the river—the "New Town" surveyed by William Claiborne, 1623–25. Although small, Jamestown was the effective center of social, political, and economic power in Virginia. Resident in its fifteen houselots were the governor, former governor, councilors, and merchants. Five of Virginia's ten largest planters had their primary residences in Jamestown.⁴³

Although understandable that Baltimore hoped St. Mary's would take a European form comparable to Jamestown's, it was an unrealistic assumption. Only 140 people came on the *Ark* and the *Dove*; only 700 people lived in Maryland in 1642. In 1625 Jamestown served as capital of a colony of 1,300 Europeans and Africans, a colony, in fact, too small to support even a modest town.⁴⁴ When in 1629 Baltimore's father visited Jamestown, it already had begun its decay. Three years later Governor Harvey complained that his was the only house that offered shelter to the public during meetings of the court.⁴⁵ The colony grew—to 4,914 persons in 1634—but not its capital.⁴⁶ By 1637 Jamestown had become such an embarrassment to Virginians that they reconstructed it in the first of several futile attempts at urban renewal.⁴⁷ The Chesapeake, with its superb natural transportation system, required greater population densities before real urban centers would be practical.⁴⁸

Governor Calvert and commissioners Cornwaleys and Hawley—frequent visitors to Jamestown—were well aware of the Virginia failure in town development. They did not repeat that mistake at St. Mary's. Instead of creating a gridiron of streets, they developed a practical alternate—a neighborhood of farms seated by manorial lords, of demesnes detached from manors. In 1638, Governor Calvert, Councilor Hawley, and the superior of the Jesuit mission lived as neighbors along the path through St. Mary's, and Councilor Cornwaleys's house lay only across St. Inigoe's Creek from the Jesuit farm. In 1642 the same situation prevailed: four of the five members of the Governor's council lived within two miles of his house.

Lord Baltimore provided the legal formula through which the manorial lords dominated ownership of townland. By the 1636 conditions of plantation, land within "the town and fields of St. Mary's" was to be granted to the adventurers at the rate of ten acres for every person transported in 1633 and five acres for every person transported during the next four years. These townland conditions never seem to have been formalized before 1636. They were not included in the first conditions written on 8 August 1636 (specifying how manorial and freehold grants were to be made), but were an addendum added on 29 August.⁴⁹ Lord Baltimore may have composed these at the instigation of his new secretary and surveyor, John Lewger. Lewger would have to administer the land division and also wished to settle in St. Mary's. The same day Baltimore composed the townland conditions, he wrote a special warrant to Leonard Calvert that Lewger was to have 100 acres of townland and two manors totalling 3,000 acres.⁵⁰

As intended, Baltimore's conditions for town grants created a community where manorial lords dominated land ownership. In 1642 ninety per cent of the acreage granted as townland was held by individuals who had immigrated with enough servants to qualify for manorial grants (see table 1). The resulting capital district

TABLE 1.
St. Mary's Townland Ownership in 1642

Owners	Headrights through 1642 ^a	Townlands	References PATENTS, 1:
TOWNLAND GRANTS			
The Society of Jesus	42	Chapel land	25
		St. Mary's Hill	255
		St. Inigoe's Neck	<u>120</u> 400
John Lewger, Secretary ^b	27	St. John's	200
Thomas Cornwaleys, Councilor	57	St. Peter's ^c	150
Margaret & Mary Brent ^b	8	Sister's Freehold	70.5
Giles Brent, Councilor	11	White House	<u>63</u> 133.5
Leonard Calvert, Governor	40	Governor's Field	100
Thomas Greene, Gentleman	3	Greene's Freehold	55
Mary Throughton ^b	6	St. Barbara's	50
Robert Clarke, Deputy Surveyor (agent for Jesuits)	1	Clarke's Freehold	50
			<u>1,138.5</u>
FREEHOLD GRANTS			
Roger Oliver, Mariner	0	St. Peter's Key	50
William Lewis, Planter (overseer for Jesuits)	0	Lewis's Neck	<u>30</u> 46
			80
TOTAL TOWN ACREAGE GRANTED			<u>1,218.5</u>

^a Minimum number of persons transported or rights purchased (table 3-1, Patent Libers, and Menard file. Annapolis: Historical Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission).

^b Received special warrants from Lord Baltimore.

^c Allocated to Jerome Hawley, escheated, purchased by Thomas Cornwaleys from Lord Baltimore (*Calvert Papers*, 1:200; PATENTS, 6:277-78, 280-82).

eased communication among provincial leaders, but the virtual exclusion of small holders may not have been Lord Baltimore's intention. He probably assumed that some immigrant artisans would settle in St. Mary's by exercising their rights to five or ten acres of townland to take up a houselot, a plot in the fields, and common rights to pasture. This was not to happen. Almost every artisan—as soon as he accumulated capital enough to establish a household—combined tobacco planting with the practice of his trade. Craftsmen who could took up tracts outside the townland, where a headright entitled them to 100 acres.

There were only two middling settlers among the holders of townland grants, an overseer for the Jesuits and a minor investor in the first expedition. Both had purchased enough rights from other immigrants to patent farmable, if small, tracts. The minor investor, Thomas Greene, found his 55 acres too confining. He sold it in 1644 and moved to 500 acres in St. George's Hundred.⁵¹ Besides the townland grants, there were two freehold grants on the town peninsula in 1642. Both were on poor tobacco soils along St. Inigoe's Creek. One recipient was a second overseer for the Jesuits; the other was a mariner. In 1642, two hundred acres on the peninsula remained unpatented: the poorly drained soils between St. Paul's Fore-

land and St. Andrew's Creek and the heavily forested, unwatered, center of the peninsula (see figure 1). These vacant tracts and other woodland seem to have been used as common pasture.⁵²



The economy of early Maryland rested on the Indian trade and, most important, agriculture. Most seventeenth-century Englishmen were agriculturalists, and the immigrants assumed that they would continue to earn a living from the land. Lord Baltimore's vision of a manorial society, the conditions of plantation, and the personnel and tools of the immigrating society all presumed an agricultural base. Maryland's economy was to be a colonial one, producing raw materials for export to Europe. We do not know what agricultural commodities the adventurers planned to export, although Commissioner Thomas Cornwaleys did not plan to grow tobacco (he shared King James's distaste for the weed). For most of the other adventurers, any uncertainty about the importance of tobacco as a staple crop disappeared soon after their first contact with the Chesapeake. In May 1634 Leonard Calvert contracted to make payment for indentured servants "in tobaccos and beaver." Lord Baltimore's 1635 promotional pamphlet, *A Relation of Maryland*, computed the yearly value of a servant's labor by his probable production of tobacco, food crops, and pipestaves.⁵³

Returns from agriculture were slow in coming. The fur trade—although in the long run a minor and impermanent asset—offered hope, soon defunct, of immediate returns towards defraying "the great charge of the plantation."⁵⁴ Misfortune, inadequate organization, and competition from Virginia, New Sweden, and Montreal prevented Baltimore from realizing substantial profits from the fur trade. The immigrant investors may have fared better.

To control the Indian trade, Lord Baltimore organized a company known as the "joint stock" or sometimes as "Lord Baltimore and Company." The company consisted of two separate ventures of pooled capital. Eleven adventurers subscribed the original stock, thirty shares at £15 a share. A second stock, at £20 a share, was collected in August 1634 and a large quantity of trade goods shipped to St. Mary's. This stock of truck lasted for several seasons. While the joint stock still existed in 1638, it may not have been active much longer.⁵⁵

Membership in the joint stock was restricted to the investors in the 1633 expedition to Maryland. Lord Baltimore and his silent partners subscribed about half of the shares in 1633 and 1634; ten of the immigrant gentlemen subscribed the remainder of the 1633 shares. Membership in 1634 broadened slightly to include non-immigrating investors in the 1633 expedition and Henry Fleete. The Jesuits also participated, but perhaps privately rather than through joint stock.

The "Virginia Interest" ruined the 1634 season before it began. Lord Baltimore's opponents, lobbying frantically to block the creation of the colony, delayed the sailing of the *Ark* and the *Dove* from mid-August 1633 until 22 November. By the time the immigrants disembarked at St. Mary's, the local fur trading season was almost over. The *Dove* combed the Maryland tidewater but collected only 298 beaver skins (451 pounds)—enough, however, to repay almost half of their initial joint stock investment. As he dispatched these skins on the *Ark*, Leonard Calvert

wrote his business partner that they already had acquired another 233 from the Susquehannocks and hoped to get many more northern skins before the end of the summer. Calvert encouraged his partner to invest in the next stock, for although "you have not the full return you expected from your last adventure, what you find short therein, you cannot count lost, for you have so hopeful expectation of what is as good as present possession."⁵⁶

Calvert cautioned his English partners to send enough trade goods. His fellow adventurers responded handsomely. In the late fall of 1634 the *Ark* left England loaded with:

cloth, coarse frieze:		1,100 yards
glass beads:		15 small gross
combs, box[wood]:	35 dozen	
ivory:	3 dozen	
horn:	17 dozen	55 dozen (660)
brass kettles:		300 weight
axes:		600
knives, Sheffield:		45 small gross
hoses:		30 dozen (360)
hawks' bells:		40 dozen (480) ⁵⁷

Investors anticipated a profitable 1635 season. The upper Chesapeake trade rested completely in their hands. Their only serious rivals for the northern trade were the Dutch on the Hudson and Delaware rivers and the French at far off Trois Rivières and Quebec.⁵⁸ Marylanders looked forward to purchasing about 4,000 skins to sell in London for £2,500 to £3,000 sterling (figure 3).

Their preparations had begun coming undone in 1634. Throughout that fur trading season, the Marylanders' big bark, the *Dove*, lay useless at St. Mary's, abandoned by her crew in November. Violence with the Kent Islanders disrupted trading—two Maryland boats were plundered—and just as the Marylanders were getting the upper hand, the Virginia Council, after deposing Governor Harvey, enforced a truce that left Claiborne free to trade with the Indians.⁵⁹ Some early furs may have been shipped to England with the return of the tobacco fleet, but in mid-summer 1635 a thousand weight of furs at the fort at St. Mary's awaited shipping. Finally in August Calvert managed to man the *Dove*. He dispatched her to London with the rotting furs and a cargo of wainscot timber. She never arrived. The loss, to the joint stock and the eight adventurers who owned the vessel, was over £1,000 sterling.

During 1636 and 1637, Claiborne had his best season ever while the Maryland joint stock may have taken in little more than in 1634. In February 1638 Thomas Cornwaleys submitted an inventory and account for the estate of John Saunders, an investor in the company. The account showed that Cornwaleys "had received of the proceed of both the stocks of the trade and . . . of the eighth part of the pinnace *Dove* with the profit thereof . . . one hundred and eleven pounds & one half of beaver, and nine pound one shilling in money."⁶⁰ If Saunders had subscribed one thirtieth of each stock, the company may have taken in as little as 3,350 pounds of beaver, 1634–37. While this amount would have more than paid for the trade



FIGURE 3. The investors in the fur trade—Lord Baltimore and Company—purchased the bark *Dove* to link Maryland and their London market. The mutiny of the *Dove*'s crew in late 1634, and the ship's loss at sea in 1635, were major blows to the fledgling colony. The interpretive program at Historic St. Mary's City uses first-person living history to depict life in 17th-century Maryland. (*Maryland Dove*/Historic St. Mary's City. Photo: M. E. Hayward)

goods shipped to Maryland, it would not have begun to cover the loss of the *Dove*, much less reimburse Lord Baltimore's expenses in outfitting the 1633–34 expedition.

In 1637 Maryland fur trade was ripe for reform. Beginning in 1635 some of the major investors had begun trading for themselves, reducing the profits of the Baltimore Company to those of a wholesale merchant.⁶¹ Competition among Marylanders and between Marylanders and Virginians drove up the cost of beaver.⁶² Desperate for some income from his Maryland investments, Baltimore included regulations for the Indian trade in the draft legislation that he sent to Maryland with Secretary John Lewger. The act—passed by the freemen—limited the right of the first adventurers to participate in the fur trade to an additional five years and required them either to rent a share of the fur trade from the proprietor or pay him a tenth of their gross receipts. The Jesuits and Thomas Cornwaleys protested bitterly. Henry Fleete returned to Virginia.⁶³ Leonard Calvert wrote his brother that if he and Captain Cornwaleys could have the trade “two or three years, rent free, I am persuaded that it would be brought . . . far more profitable.” While the request may not have been granted, John Lewger reported in 1639 that “the trade of beaver is wholly now in the Governor's and the Captain's hands, without any rival, and they are joined partners in the driving of it.”⁶⁴ At the time of Lewger's writing,

prospects for the fur trade may have seemed brighter again. Lord Baltimore's control of the fur trade had been confirmed, and his brother had given it reality by seizing Kent and Palmer's islands. But the improvement was slight. The Susquehannock Indians, Claiborne's allies, took most of their trade to the Delaware River (where the Dutch had been joined by the Swedes), and when the French founded Montreal in 1642, the southern flow of Canadian furs declined.⁶⁵ Yet even in the 1640s the Maryland fur trade was important. It continued to hold the attention of Leonard Calvert, Thomas Cornwaleys, and the Jesuits, and they were joined by Robert Evelin, a friend of Lord Baltimore and a principal investor in the "Adventurers to Maryland and Charles River [the Delaware]." In an attempt to cut costs, "factories" or trading posts had been established at Piscataway, Patuxent, and perhaps elsewhere.⁶⁶

In 1639 the fur trade was opened up to anyone who could arm a vessel,⁶⁷ but at the end of Maryland's first decade, manorial lords retained control of most of the fur trade. The manner in which they exercised their control was changing. Initially the trade was under their direct supervision, seasonally occupying their servants and their personal attention. The documents preserve glimpses of Thomas Cornwaleys probing the rivers of the Eastern Shore and suggest that Leonard Calvert explored the Potomac above the falls.⁶⁸ This changed as their first servants became free and more freemen arrived. While the manorial lords continued to maintain their mariners and pinnaces, for an increasing proportion of the trade they (especially Cornwaleys) became the financiers, advancing to freemen, at interest, the equipment and goods needed to conduct the trade. The most important and best documented capitalist-freeman relationship was the Cornwaleys-John Hallowes connection. Hallowes, a mariner, had come in the *Ark* as Cornwaleys's servant. After becoming free, he worked for Cornwaleys as a hired employee. Then he went into business in partnership with other freemen of St. Michael's Hundred. During the terrible season of 1643—cut off from the head of the Chesapeake and the Eastern Shore by the Susquehannock War—Hallowes and a partner, Thomas Boys, incurred a debt to Cornwaleys (for goods and the lease of a pinnace) of four hundred pounds of "good & merchantable winter beaver." Henry Bishop and Simon Demibiel, tenants at St. Leonard's (near Patuxent Town) and small scale traders, also were indebted heavily to Cornwaleys.⁶⁹ The manorial lords' control of credit and import distribution furnished them a share of the risks and profits of the fur trade.

Their involvement in the corn trade was somewhat less. The trade in Indian corn was an adjunct to the fur trade, providing employment for men and vessels beyond the spring fur season. Corn was a cheap source of provision for the colony and an ingredient in the coastal trade with New England. When the settlers arrived in 1634 they found "the country well stored with corn . . . , whereof they [the natives] sold them such plenty, as that they sent 1000 bushels of it to New England, to provide them some salt fish and other commodities" (the *Dove* arrived in Boston on 29 August 1634). The corn trade was regulated, but not tithed. Licensing was required only to prevent weakly manned boats from venturing among the Indians. Export of corn was prohibited when its Maryland price was above thirty pounds of tobacco a barrel.⁷⁰

Much of the purchased Indian corn may have been for local consumption; it certainly was important for provisioning the Jesuit missions. It is the coastal export

trade, however, that left the clearest impression in the provincial records. The corn exporters made up only a portion of the men involved in the fur trade. Of the fur traders, neither the most important (Governor Calvert) nor the minor ones seem to have been corn exporters. Instead, the trade was in the hands of merchants and professional mariners. After the departure of Henry Fleete, Thomas Games, a mariner and merchant of Kent Island, may have become the leading exporter. Thomas Cornwaleys also was active in the coastal trade,⁷¹ but only as a sideline to his main business, importing manufactured goods and exporting tobacco.

Lord Baltimore's colonists came to Maryland to grow crops. How they planned to farm is unclear to us—and it may have been unclear to them. The Jesuits' 1633 memorandum on Maryland contains wildly unrealistic expectations: three harvests a year, grain yielding five hundred to one, and a soil probably "adapted to all the fruits of Italy: figs, pomegranates, oranges, olives, etc."⁷² The immigrants' unrealistically high expectations turned out to be a source of frustration, but perhaps they were fortunate in having only vague plans. Chesapeake farming required them to make a major readjustment. Like newcomers to any semi-tropical forest, the immigrants had to relearn hoe agriculture.⁷³ Luckily the skills were simple, and they learned them quickly (figure 4).

Maryland presented Lord Baltimore's colonists with virgin soil in almost unlimited quantities. The region's liabilities were the huge trees of the forest that at first made traditional European husbandry impossible, a scarcity of livestock, and lim-



FIGURE 4. Adopting Indian "slash and burn" agriculture, Chesapeake settlers readily exploited the fertile soil of the former forests. But stump-littered fields made it impossible to use plows and carts. (Frontier tenement/Spray Plantation. Photo: Dennis Candill)

ited export markets. In sum, the assets were greater than the liabilities; but for a decline in the price of tobacco, Maryland agriculture would have flourished at the end of the first decade.

Agricultural practice in manorial Maryland had three strata—a foundation of aboriginal crops (tobacco and corn) and hoe culture, the important addition of European livestock, and a veneer of European arable husbandry. The first layer provided an export crop and minimal sustenance. The second provided a dependable source of protein. The third provided dietary variety and social respectability.

For tobacco and corn the forest cloaking the land was an asset. Large amounts of plant nutrients had accumulated in the mold of the forest floor. Tapping them with hoe culture was easy. The great trees of the forest could be killed by girdling—cutting “a notch in the bark a hand broad round about the tree”—burning off any trash that obstructed planting, and breaking up the ground with hoes.⁷⁴

Tobacco growing required few tools—the axe, broad hoe, and narrow hoe—but its culture was tedious. Sowing miniscule seeds in beds started the plants. After transplanting to the field, the plants had to be weeded, wormed, topped, suckered, cut, and cured. After curing, the leaves were stripped from the stalks and packed into hogsheads for shipment. The process required an enormous amount of labor. In the 1630s productivity was little more than half what it would be later. Jerome Hawley’s estimate of 800 to 1,000 pounds per hand seems reasonably accurate. While a well managed gang might produce more tobacco a hand, as at St. Inigoe’s, planters who combined tobacco planting with a craft or part-time labor for others produced much less, sometimes as little as 400 or 500 pounds.⁷⁵ From 1639 to 1644, Maryland produced annually about 400 hogsheads (100,000 pounds) of tobacco, “an average of more than 600 pounds per taxable-age male.”⁷⁶

Indian corn was nearly as important to the peopling of the Chesapeake as tobacco. It was grown easily, immensely productive, and tolerant. It thrived in a variety of soil types and could be planted from March through May. Under ideal conditions, one kernel of corn seed reproduced itself 1,000 times. Its culture was simple. After the ground was prepared, three to five kernels of corn were set in hills four or five feet apart, perhaps with one to three bean or squash seeds. A few hoeings completed the year’s work until harvest.⁷⁷ A Virginia minister boasted in 1612 that his servants had “set so much corn . . . in the idle hours of one week, as will suffice me for bread one quarter of a year.” He may not have exaggerated. During his first year in Maryland, Mr. John Cockshott, Joiner, and his two servants grew thirty barrels (150 bushels) of corn, but Cockshott was not raising tobacco. If a hand tended tobacco, grain production was lower. On the well-managed Jesuit plantation of St. Inigoe’s, the overseer was obligated to produce 1,000 pounds of tobacco a hand plus “7 barrels of corn interest with peas, beans, and mazump.” The overseer kept all surpluses above these quotas and reputedly did well.⁷⁸ For the settlers, corn immediately replaced European grains and garden crops as their principal food (figure 5).⁷⁹

After Indian corn, animal products—milk, butter, cheese, eggs, and meat—were the most important foods. Imported animals were available in inverse proportion to their value. Cattle—prized for their milk, for the meat of the surplus males, and for the market value of breeding stock in an expanding economy—were difficult to obtain. A heifer could not be bred until her third year, and thereafter



FIGURE 5. Only three tools were needed to grow corn and tobacco: a felling axe, a narrow grubbing hoe, and a wide hilling hoe. (Frontier tenement/Spray Plantation. Photo: G. Stone)

rarely dropped more than one calf a year. Their size also made cattle expensive to transport. Swine were more available and furnished the principal source of meat. With good care a sow might raise a litter of six to eight pigs, although the average probably was five.⁸⁰ Poultry—especially chickens, but also turkeys, geese, and peafowl—were the easiest to transport and breed. A hen might reproduce herself five to ten times every spring.⁸¹ In 1627 someone reported from Virginia that “he is a very bad husband [who] breedth not a hundred in a year, and the richer do daily feed on them,”⁸² and the same seems to have held true for Maryland. In 1639 John Lewger informed Lord Baltimore “for poultry, I can at this present [time] out of my own stock furnish your Lordship with 50 or 60 breeding hens.”⁸³ Predators made sheep difficult to maintain. Only the manorial lords raised them. At Kent, Giles Brent pastured his sheep on an isolated island where they were safe from wolves.⁸⁴

The large quantities of available land greatly facilitated animal husbandry. Woods and marshes furnished forage for cattle and hogs. Cattle grazed on weeds and grasses in the park-like woods and along the edges of the creeks. Swine dug for roots in the swamps and fattened in the fall on the acorns and chestnuts of the woods. Settlers valued necks of land and islands where livestock could be confined with minimal or no fencing. Feeding livestock in winter was less of a problem than in overpopulated England. In England the increase of a herd often had to be slaughtered each fall, and even breeding stock were kept alive with difficulty.

When crop residues and hay were exhausted, farmers had to feed twigs trimmed from firewood and boughs cut from trees. In contrast, early Marylanders apparently did not bother to cut hay. The "great husks" of corn made good fodder; on the manors there was straw. Cattle could browse through hundreds of acres of woods. While poorly tended cattle may have suffered badly, on well-managed plantations winter mortality was low. In 1643 Lord Baltimore's 54 cows and heifers dropped over 56 calves, of which at least 47 survived the winter (eight died "of hard winter &c" and one "by worrying of a dog"). Only two mature animals were lost from the herd that year—a heifer in calving and a cow of old age. On the other manors reproduction seems to have been equally steady. On Kent Island William Claiborne's herd increased from 30 in 1631 to about 150 in 1638.⁸⁵

The greatest limitation on animal husbandry in manorial Maryland was the expense of breeding stock. Throughout the decade, a cow and calf sold for 700 to 1,000 pounds of tobacco. Goats, a substitute for cattle on the early Virginia and New England frontiers, were relatively scarce in Maryland. In the 1630s a good breeding sow was worth 150 pounds of tobacco, and poultry were worth up to 7½ pounds of tobacco each.⁸⁶ The scarcity reflected in these prices was partly the natural cost of living on an isolated frontier and partly the result of the hostility of the Virginians, who bitterly resented the Maryland interlopers (Governor Sir John Harvey reported that Captain Samuel Mathew's faction "would rather knock their cattle on their heads than sell them to Maryland"). Anticipating the arrival of the Calvert party, the Virginia assembly in August 1633 had prohibited the export of cattle "to another Government of this Colony now established." Harvey had provided the newcomers with cattle in defiance of the act in 1634, but his expulsion in 1635 cut them off from this source. Not even prominent immigrants like merchant Justinian Snow or councilor Robert Wintour could obtain cattle. Consequently, men began careers as tenant farmers with no or little livestock—a few hogs at the most. One tenant of the Jesuits began farming in 1637 with only "1 cock and 1 hen."⁸⁷

After 1638 cattle became easier to obtain. Virginia that year lifted the embargo against the export of cattle, and mariners—John Hallowes in particular—began importing cows for sale to freemen. Later in the year, the confiscation of William Claiborne's estate on Kent Island provided the proprietor with a large stock of cattle. Many were shipped immediately to St. Mary's. In the early 1640s, manorial lords began using cattle to pay the wages of their free employees,⁸⁸ but the ownership of cattle remained socially stratified. In 1645, the lords may have owned three-fourths of the cattle in Maryland. Four, together, owned 400 head, while the largest herd known to have been owned by a freeholder was only twelve or fourteen. Sheep and horses remained scarce. Their export from Virginia continued to be prohibited. In 1642 Leonard Calvert, acting for Lord Baltimore, sent two pinnaces all the way to Boston in a vain attempt to buy mares and sheep. On the eve of Ingle's Rebellion, apparently only Leonard Calvert and Thomas Cornwaleys owned horses.⁸⁹

The practice of agriculture was stratified socially. At the top of the hierarchy stood the major investors, a group almost identical with the members of the governor's council. With oxen, plowmen, and maids they farmed like English yeomen

while their gangs of laborers planted tobacco and corn Indian-fashion. Only major investors had the labor required for specialization and diversification. A poll tax levied on the freemen to cover the expenses of the August 1642 assembly revealed that only four had as many as three hands—indentured servants, inmate laborers, and adult sons. The vast majority paid taxes only for their own earning power (table 2). The major investors could have servants herd their livestock; freemen could do little but turn their stock loose in the woods. Hoe agriculture remained the norm. Its entrance requirements were minimal—an axe and two hoes cost only eighteen pounds tobacco—and it was unavoidable. Tobacco was so demanding of nutrients that new fields constantly had to be hacked out of the forest, fields impossible to plow until the tree roots rotted (figure 6).

Tenant farmers led a primitive, Americanized existence: daily labor at the hoe and a monotonous diet of corn pone and hominy. Russell Menard established that tenants formed a majority of the 1642 free population of Southern Maryland (table 3). Some farmed by themselves, a few with a wife, a very few with an indentured servant. Many joined together in partnerships of two or three to work a leasehold as mates, and occasionally young men joined them to work for a share in the crop. But few leaseholds were worked by more than three adults. Tenants' inventories list hogs in the woods. None mention stored food except corn (and one listing of pumpkins). Documentation shows but one tenant with cattle. Others may have borrowed or hired cattle from their lords, but lacking wives or maids they could not convert the surplus milk into butter and cheese (figure 7).⁹⁰

There is no evidence that the freeholders' cultivation of crops differed from that of the tenant farmers. Most of their households were small. None are known to have owned oxen or plough gear, and none are known to have sown wheat on land broken up with a hoe. Only dairying may have distinguished their husbandry from that of the tenants (by 1642 most freeholders owned cattle, and they were more

TABLE 2.
The Distribution of Tithable Labor Among Freemen, 1642
(From a Poll Tax Assessed on Freemen August, 1642)

Freemen ^a Assessed	Number Tithables ^b per Freeman
1	6
1	5
2	4
7	3
12	2
115	1
Total Freemen: 138	
Total Tithables: 179	

SOURCE: Committee for Burgesses' Accounts, 2 August 1642, *Md. Arch.*, 1:142-46.

^a Members of the Council, Jesuit priests, women, and their indentured servants were not assessed. Those assessed as freemen included most other free male heads of households whether individuals, partners (assessed separately), or householding employees. Some inmate (i.e., non-householding) sharecroppers and free servants are included (John at Anthony Rawlins's, James at Francis Grey's), especially important individuals (Henry Hooper, surgeon).

^b Includes head of household, adult sons, indentured male servants, and probably some free inmate servants.



FIGURE 6. Hilled tobacco growing around a tobacco house. A few lucky settlers were able to patent Indian-cleared fields where stumps did not impede cultivation. (Spray Plantation. Photo: M. E. Hayward)

TABLE 3.
Estimated Male Population^a of St. Mary's County, 1642

<u>Freemen</u>	
Manorial lords—major investors ^b	6
—minor investors	3
Freeholders	30
Tenants (includes mates)	87
Inmate sharecroppers and wage laborers	35
Non-planting specialists (professionals, artisans, and laborers)	12
	173
<u>Indentured servants^c</u>	100
<u>Slaves^d</u>	0
Total	273

SOURCE: Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 57, 73, 81–99; PATENTS, 1 and appendix 1; table 3-1; Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 134–35.

^a Excludes Indians. At least one black (Mathias de Sousa) is included.

^b Excludes non-residents: Lord Baltimore, Giles Brent (on Kent Island), and missionaries in Indian towns.

^c Menard's estimates (53 minimum, 88 maximum) are low as the surviving patent libers do not list the servants of Lord Baltimore, John Langford, Mistress White, and perhaps others.

^d While the major investors had been trying to acquire black slaves since at least 1638, seemingly none were acquired until 1643–44 (by Cornwaleys: *Md. Arch.*, 4:304). Earlier, leased black servants had worked on Kent Island (*MHM* 28[1933]:39).



FIGURE 7. In early Maryland, women were scarce and dairy cattle were scarcer. Only married freeholders and indentured servants on large manors could enjoy female company, butter, and cheese. (Spray Plantation. Photo: Dennis Candill)

likely than tenant farmers to have had a wife or maid). Most of their livestock, though, must have fended for themselves in the woods. Few of the freeholders' households could have spared a young servant or child to tend the cattle or swine, although some freeholders may have hired Indian boys to watch the livestock (figure 8).⁹¹

Only the major investors could afford the equipment (oxen, yokes, plow, harrow, chains, and wain or cart) and the specialized labor (plowman, blacksmith, cow keeper, and dairy maid) of diversified husbandry. The best documented of the manors is Cornwaleys's Cross, with its lavishly furnished dwelling, well-equipped



FIGURE 8. Only the manorial lords had the draft animals and labor required to clear fields and grow wheat and barley. (Freeman Farm/Old Sturbridge Village. Photo: G. Stone)

kitchen, bake house, servants' quarter, smith's forge, and storehouses. After the harvest of 1644 the barn and granary held wheat, oats, barley, and Indian corn worth £60. Horses, cattle, goats, sheep, and swine on the manor were reputed to be worth £920. The Brents' Kent Fort Manor—with its smith's shop, barn, and operating windmill—may have been a near rival to Cornwaleys's operation (table 4). Lord Baltimore and the Jesuits also engaged in arable husbandry. The other major investors—less well documented—may have farmed in a similar manner.⁹² The manorial lords' arable husbandry contributed indirectly to their prosperity. Their revenues were based on tobacco: planting it, exporting it, and importing the goods needed by small tobacco planters.

In 1634–44 Maryland's commerce rested more securely in the hands of Marylanders than at any subsequent time during the century. The manorial lords' activity in importing goods, extending credit, and collecting tobaccos, firmly established them as the middlemen controlling the bulk of the trade, relegating English (and occasionally Dutch) merchants and mariners to the roles of suppliers and carriers. Thomas Cornwaleys, alternating his residence between Maryland and London, became a leading tobacco merchant in Anglo-American commerce.⁹³

TABLE 4.
Arable Husbandry of Four Major Investors

	Lord Baltimore ^a	Thomas Cornwaleys ^b	Giles & Margaret Brent ^c	The Jesuits ^d
Servants	X	15	8+	22[?]
Cattle	138	120	100	60
Sheep	6	X	20	
Plough	1	1	1	
Vehicle	0	wain	wain	cart
Blacksmith	0	1	1	1
Wheat		X	X	X
Barley		X	X	X
Oats		X		X
Peas			X	X

SOURCES:

^a West St. Mary's Manor: *Md. Arch.*, 3:141, 4:275-79.

^b Cornwaleys' Cross: Cuthbert Fenwick, answer 19, 20 October 1646, in Cornwaleys vs. Ingle, Chancery C24 690/14, Public Record Office, London; Dionisius Corbin, 11 August 1645, High Court of Admiralty 13/60, Section L, PRO; *Md. Arch.*, 10:362-63.

^c Kent Fort & St. Mary's: *MHM* 1:139; *Md. Arch.*, 4:455-56; Robert Turtle, 10 November 1642, in Smith and Franklin vs. Cloberry et al., HCA 13/58:f.303, PRO.

^d St. Inigoe's, St. Mary's, and elsewhere: *MHM* 1:140; *Md. Arch.*, 3:178. "Servants" may include hired freemen and tenants.

The major investors dominated Maryland's trade. Thomas Cornwaleys, foremost among them, concentrated on the fur trade and importing until necessity forced him to deal in tobacco. In 1639, when he returned to England, the London port or custom books reported that he imported 33,000 pounds of tobacco, most of which he re-exported to the continent.⁹⁴ Governor Leonard Calvert probably was the next most important tobacco exporter. Third place rotated among several men: Justinian Snow, John Lewger, and newcomers from Virginia. A tax levied in 1642 ranks them in economic order (omitting only the tax exempt governor and priests). Of the five leading taxpayers of St. Mary's County, only one was not a merchant. Three of the four merchants (four out of five if Calvert is included) resided in or near the St. Mary's townland (table 5).

The Maryland merchants' domination of their economy was based on capital and lack of competition. Lord Baltimore's manorial design included settlers who always would have monies to invest in trade. These were not large sums. In 1638, Jerome Hawley's merchandise was valued at £300 to £400. Records connected with Lewger mention amounts of £274, £250, and £100. Cornwaleys's 1645 imports were worth only £160. These sums were enough to allow them to dominate the trade of a province whose principal export was worth only £800 to £1,200 as it left the farm. They also had little serious competition. Maryland's tobacco industry matured during a depression.⁹⁵ Lack of interest from English merchants and mariners was more of a problem than too much competition.⁹⁶ But without the manorial lords' money and industry, outsiders would have dominated the commerce of Maryland, as English merchant-mariners did after 1645.

Merchants used their capital to import goods and servants. When Justinian Snow died, his storehouse on Snow Hill Manor contained everything needed to

TABLE 5.
Maryland Tax Assessment of December, 1642

ST. MARY'S COUNTY		KENT COUNTY	
Total Tax 3,992 lb. tobacco:		Total Tax 2,178 lb. tobacco:	
Taxpayers (name or number of individuals)	Tax each	Taxpayers (name or number of individuals)	Tax each
Capt. Thomas Cornwaleys, Esq., ^a merchant-planter	800		
Capt. William Blount, Esq., merchant	350		
Mr. Thomas Weston, merchant-planter	350		
John Langford, Esq., Surveyor-General, planter	220	Giles Brent, Esq., merchant-planter	220
John Lewger, Esq., Secretary, merchant-planter	170	Mr. Richard Thomson, planter-trader ^b	176
Small Planters		Small Planters	
8	150-100		
5	60-40	2	66
35	20	8	44
24	8	59	22
77 Total Taxpayers		71 Total Taxpayers	

SOURCE: *Md. Arch.*, 3:123-26.

^a Esquire equals member of the Council.

^b William Claiborne's cousin (*Md. Arch.*, 3:161, 4:29, 147, 458-59, 518-19; 5:204).

sustain life, from twenty-four cases of strong waters and four casks of cheese, to ribbon, silk points, and 29,000 pins. In 1640, Leonard Calvert brought in cloth, shoes, stockings, hose, groceries, and sugar. One of Thomas Cornwaleys's shipments included 1,050 yards of cloth.⁹⁷ From 1634 to 1642 Maryland merchants imported over half the servants brought into the colony. Most they kept to work their own plantations, but they sold others.⁹⁸ While some merchants, especially newcomers, were conservative in extending credit, most small planters were indebted to one or another of the manorial lords. During 1642, Thomas Cornwaleys, John Lewger, and Leonard Calvert had planters' debts recorded in the Provincial Court totalling 77,287 pounds of tobacco.⁹⁹ Their credit lubricated the depressed Maryland economy and gave them first claim on the debtors' tobacco.

Depositions taken following Ingle's raid vividly describe the 1644-45 port functions of the St. Mary's townland. Before Christmas, as soon as the planters began to get their crop stripped and packed, Cuthbert Fenwick, Cornwaleys's factor, and Edward Packer, agent for Leonard Calvert, began working their way up and down the Potomac shoreline by pinnacle and shallop. At the tobacco houses of their employers' debtors they carefully inspected the tobacco waiting for them. Acceptable hogsheads were credited to the planters' accounts, marked with the merchants' initials and a number, and transported to St. Mary's as weather permitted. While some tobaccos were held by the planters for direct sale to the tobacco fleet, by mid-February about half the Maryland crop had been gathered at St. Mary's and more was expected soon (figure 9).¹⁰⁰



FIGURE 9. The factors of the manor lords purchased tobacco directly from the tobacco houses of their employer's debtors. (Spray Plantation. Photo: Dennis Candill)



The leadership of the major investors extended from the economy into politics, but it was a restricted leadership, limited by religious differences, personalities, and the political participation of the freemen. Lord Baltimore intended that the manorial lords would be the province's leaders, and he appointed them to the Governor's Council, a body that doubled as the Provincial Court. While in part their role had been determined by fiat, freemen recognized their authority and elected them to the major committees of the assembly.¹⁰¹ That the freemen did so is not surprising. Seventeenth-century men expected men with social and economic status to exercise political leadership. But while freemen accepted the leadership of man-

orial lords, they were untraditionally bold in insisting that their wishes govern their leaders.

Maryland political life was more open than that in England, a situation resulting from profoundly different circumstances. In old England, the influence of landed and mercantile gentry owed much to overpopulation: scarcity of land and employment heightened the influence of the landlords and major employers. The bulk of commoners had to struggle to maintain a modest standard of living, with no hope of improvement. In frontier Maryland there was no lack of land or work, and the hope of improvement had brought immigrants to the province. Wages were high,¹⁰² and upward mobility—from servant to tenant to freeholder and even to manorial lord—was a visible reality. The expectation of upward mobility and their lords' espousal of a minority religion diminished the freemen's deference to their superiors.

Wrangling among the manorial lords further diminished their authority.¹⁰³ Foremost was the split between the proprietary party and the remainder of the Roman Catholic gentry. Lord Baltimore, forced to remain in England, grew out of touch with his investors—competing with them for the profits of the Indian trade and proposing unrealistic legislation. His absence also aggravated the growing division between him and the Jesuits. By the early 1640s his hostility to the Society was irrational, and his actions offended the greatest part of the Catholic gentry in Maryland, especially Thomas Cornwaleys.¹⁰⁴

The personalities of Lord Baltimore's officials, Calvert and Lewger, further contributed to the political problems of manorial Maryland. Neither figure could command personal loyalty. Governor Leonard Calvert was an honest man of at least average courage, and—when he had an opportunity to study a problem—of above average political judgment. But his pronounced inability to manage the assembly suggests that he was unable to deal well with people. Lewger, his secretary, a conscientious bureaucrat of high integrity, was apparently a colorless soul. Few Marylanders made either Calvert or Lewger their proxies during assemblies of all the freemen. Of the manorial lords, only Thomas Cornwaleys had a flair for leadership.¹⁰⁵ Weakness of leadership and lack of deference turned assembly meetings into contentious constitutional conventions, in which the gentry and the freemen (or their delegates) combined to resist proprietary legislation. At the 1638 meeting, the first for which any records survive, the entire assembly (excepting only Governor Calvert, Secretary Lewger, and their proxies) unanimously rejected the code of laws sent over by Lord Baltimore and drafted their own. The 1639–41 assemblies were less productive.¹⁰⁶ They enacted little legislation until the session of July–August, 1642, when Governor Calvert appointed Captain Cornwaleys chairman of the "Committee to Consider of all Bills."¹⁰⁷ The next session, an emergency meeting of all freemen called to consider an expedition against the Susquehannocks, ended on a sour note when Governor Calvert unwisely insisted on his tax exempt status as the representative of the Lord Proprietor (Cornwaleys resigned from the Council in disgust).¹⁰⁸ Although finally legislation appeared, constitutional questions continued to separate representatives of the Proprietor from other members of the legislature.¹⁰⁹

Class interests occasionally surfaced in the assembly—the freemen's resistance to an expedition against the Susquehannocks or the fee schedules determined by the

council—but major issues were constitutional. Lord Baltimore's patent gave him princely authority, which most of his subjects questioned (in England, competition between King and Parliament was about to erupt into civil war). Marylanders rejected or modified legislation that made opposition to the proprietor high treason, and they continually attempted to extend the privileges of their "Parliament."¹¹⁰ One goal was tri-annual assemblies; another was elimination of the governor's right to adjourn the assembly against its will. In 1642, one burgess even proposed that the assembly divide into an upper and lower house.¹¹¹

It is important not to overemphasize the split between the proprietor's agents and the assembly. Their disagreements were more like those separating the management and employees of a small, struggling, manufacturing firm than those dividing nations. Both sides knew that they needed each other. Maryland was a small enterprise with a total population in 1641 of perhaps 700. Only 45 freemen attended the largest general assembly convened at St. Mary's, and delegated assemblies were less than half that size—half a dozen gentlemen summoned by special writ (the councilors and a few others) and a scant dozen burgesses representing Kent Island and the five hundreds (precincts) of St. Mary's County. All were tobacco planters. While they might disagree during an assembly, the rest of the year they collaborated to earn a living and keep their fledgling society functioning. Robert Vaughan, the burgess who proposed that the assembly divide into upper and lower houses, was no enemy of the Calverts. While he disagreed with them on the proper ordering of the state, he was a trusted officer and business partner of the proprietary party—the governor's sergeant in the militia and Secretary Lewger's business agent on Kent Island. A valued loyalist despite his political opinions, Vaughan in December 1642 was appointed to the County Court for Kent.¹¹²

Although the proprietor's and settlers' disagreements on constitutional issues impeded the legislative process, the two sides generally maintained an adequate working relationship. In 1642 the assembly even voted Lord Baltimore a financial subsidy.¹¹³ In contrast to contemporary Virginia (where corruption was rampant and differences of political opinion were settled occasionally with blows), Maryland was well administered. Justice was dispensed with disconcerting impartiality (even Christian Indians were included) and suspected corruption was investigated.¹¹⁴ Except for the religious breach between the Roman Catholic manorial lords and the largely Protestant commonalty, few Marylanders would have considered resorting to violence to change their government.

In England, since the papal excommunication of Elizabeth I, Catholics had been considered political subversives requiring repression. Adherence to the Roman Catholic faith had been made treason. Its priests had been outlawed, its public worship forbidden, and its adherents disqualified from holding public office. Although under the Stuarts informal toleration was the norm harsh penal laws remained. Roman Catholics were intermittently fined for not attending Anglican services. Their estates were subject to heavy taxation. In Maryland, Lord Baltimore's representatives worked intelligently to separate church and state, to repress religious controversy, and to prove that Roman Catholics could be trustworthy rulers. But with the outbreak of the Civil War they betrayed themselves, proving to many of their Protestant subjects that Roman Catholics were politically corrupt.¹¹⁵

Maryland's leaders were royalists. Giles Brent, acting governor during Leonard Calvert's absence in England in 1643–44, arrested a Protestant mariner for treason. Calvert returned in 1644 with a commission to attack the King's enemies (he quickly repressed it, but not before it became public knowledge). Their support of the king confirmed the prejudices of many: Roman Catholics were enemies of English rights as well as English religion.

Russell Menard argued that much of the weakness of Maryland society was a result of its youth. He implied that given more than a decade, habits of accommodation might have developed that would have carried Maryland through a crisis such as that posed by the English Civil War.¹¹⁶ While much of his argument is obviously true, I believe he overemphasized the structural weaknesses of Maryland society (on Kent Island, William Claiborne created a tightly knit, fiercely loyal community in less time, despite comparable demographic problems). Much of Maryland's weakness was political. Leonard Calvert had a decade to earn the loyalty of a small community. Virtually all the freemen had been his suppliers, customers, or debtors. Most had attended court or assembly in his house. More than a few had been members of his household. Yet he had failed to create friendships that would bridge the polarization of English society in the 1640s.

As of January 1645, Maryland was a going but fragile concern. Benefiting from the Virginians' hard-gained experience and export markets, Marylanders had successfully established a new beachhead in the American wilderness without excessive loss of life or fortune. Harsh frontier deprivation gave way to rude sufficiency, a sufficiency not so rude on Thomas Cornwaleys's Cross Manor. But internal and external forces strained the social fabric. Tobacco prices were low, Susquehannock hostility was expensive, and the relative openness of the frontier economy fueled divisive competition. In a society divided between an inept Catholic leadership and a largely Protestant commonalty, the English Civil War presented especially serious problems.

NOTES

1. Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 301.

2. It is incorrect to refer to St. Mary's as a city before its incorporation in 1668. Prior to that, the capital was referred to as "Our Town of St. Mary's," "The Town and Fields of St. Mary's," "Town Land," or, more commonly, as "St. Mary's." St. Mary's was described as a town even after its incorporation. *Archives of Maryland*, edited by William Hand Browne et al. (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 5:265–66 (hereafter cited as *Md. Arch.*). The name "St. Mary's" was also used to refer more specifically to the seat of the proprietary government, first "Our Fort of St. Mary's" and subsequently Governor Leonard Calvert's residence. For financial purposes (the collection of quitrents), there was also an administrative district known as the "Manor of East St. Mary's." *Md. Arch.*, 4:426; Annapolis, Maryland, Maryland Hall of Records, PATENT LIBERS, 1:46 (hereafter cited as PATENTS).

3. William Hicks's advertisement for his St. Mary's City land, Annapolis, *Maryland Gazette*, 10 February 1774.

4. Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1975), pp. 37–38, 452–53; PATENTS, 1:37–38.

5. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 70–71; Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 115–24.

6. Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* (Washington, D.C.: By the Author, 1961), pp. 91–94; Raphael Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 33 (1938): 15, 21; for the relative economic status of some of Jerome Hawley's servants, see *Md. Arch.*, 4:44–45, 59.
7. Menard, "Economy and Society," chapter 1.
8. Jerome Hawley and John Lewger, *A Relation of Maryland: Together with a Map of the Country* (London, 1635; reprinted in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), pp. 91–92; *Md. Arch.*, 3:47–48.
9. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 23, 30–32, 45–47; Russell R. Menard and Lois Green Carr, "The Lords Baltimore and the Colonization of Maryland," in *Early Maryland in a Wider World*, ed. David B. Quinn (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), pp. 183–85; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975), pp. 182–94.
10. M. Gordon Wolman, "The Chesapeake Bay: Geology and Geography," *Proceedings of the Second Governor's Conference on Chesapeake Bay*, 2 (1968): 15–17.
11. John D. Glazer, *Coastal Plain Geology of Southern Maryland*, Maryland Geological Survey Guidebook No. 1 (Baltimore, 1968); United States Department of Agriculture Soil Conservation Service, *Soil Survey of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (1978).
12. Hawley and Lewger, *Relation*, p. 79.
13. USDA SCS, *Soil Survey*, pp. 54–55; Maryland Geological Survey, *St. Mary's County* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1907), pp. 127, 132, 183–86.
14. Hall, *Narratives*, p. 40; John Smith, *Works: 1608–1631*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, England: 1884), p. 427; Albert Cook Myers, "David de Vries's Notes," *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959), p. 15; Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Publications of the Prince Society, vol. 14 (Boston: 1883); reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1967; originally published in Amsterdam in 1637), pp. 172–73; Gordon M. Day, "The Indians as an Ecological Factor in the Northeast Forest," *Ecology* 32 (1954): 329–46; PATENTS, 10:196 ("barren plain" between the branches of St. John's Creek), 15:270–71, 19:132–33, 334, 22:269 ("barren plain" above Hill Creek).
15. Lois Green Carr, "The Metropolis of Maryland: A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (1974): 126.
16. *The Calvert Papers, Number One*, Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), p. 206; *Md. Arch.*, 4:35–39.
17. PATENTS, 1:97–98; *Md. Arch.*, 1:28.
18. Beane and Charington were former indentured servants. Hebden, Wickliffe, and Richardson were freemen seemingly transported by George Evelin. Robert Wintour was another new immigrant. PATENTS, 1:18–19, 38, 103, 121; *Md. Arch.*, 4:15; Newman, *Md. Palatinate*, *passim*.
19. *Md. Arch.*, 4:35, 239–40.
20. *Md. Arch.*, 4:35–37, 39, 108–11.
21. PATENTS, 1:24, 27.
22. PATENTS, 1:38, 100–02.
23. PATENTS, 1:31–34, 41–42, 51–53, 121.
24. *Calvert Papers, Number Three*, Fund Publication No. 35 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1899), p. 21.
25. Figure 1 and table 1.
26. Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 33–34, 82.

27. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Notes on the Settlement of St. Michael's Hundred, 1634-1644," April, 1978, Research Files, St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City, Maryland (hereafter cited as SMCC).

28. *Md. Arch.*, 4:35-39; *Calvert Papers*, 1:174.

29. PATENTS, 1:31-34.

30. Hall, *Narratives*, p. 119; *Calvert Papers*, 1:156-57.

31. *Calvert Papers*, 1:168, 188, 197.

32. Hall, *Narratives*, p. 22, 91-92; *Md. Arch.*, 3:47-48.

33. Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London: n.p., 1615; reprint ed., Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1957), pp. 28-33; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676, with Notes and Exerpts from Original Council and General Court Records, into 1683, now Lost* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1924), pp. 120-21.

34. Stone, "St. Michael's Hundred."

35. Russell R. Menard, "A Tract Map for St. Mary's County in 1705," *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 21 (Mary, 1973): 261-72; PATENTS, 1:55 (Snow Hill), 43, 62 (St. Clement's).

36. Hall, *Narratives*, p. 124; PATENTS, 1:39-40.

37. PATENTS, 1:61-62; *Md. Arch.*, 4:9-10, 23.

38. PATENTS, 1:108.

39. PATENTS, 1:25-26, 129-30.

40. *Md. Arch.*, 3:106, 149; 4:71, 94-96, 161-62, 282; PATENTS, 1:108, 166.

41. PATENTS, 1:51-53. The numerous references to the fort stop abruptly in December 1642. The only subsequent references to the fort are in commissions from Lord Baltimore, September, 1644. *Md. Arch.*, 1:113-14, 116; 3:114, 116; 4:159, 192.

42. Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 21-22.

43. Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hidden, eds., *Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607-1625* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 26-34; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery—American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), p. 119; John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), chap. 3; Nell Marion Nugent, comp., *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1666* (Richmond, Virginia: n.p., 1934; reprint ed., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1974), 1:2-3; John L. Cotter, *Archeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia*, Archeological Research Series Number Four (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1958), map (rear pocket).

44. Morgan, *American Slavery—American Freedom*, pp. 396-97.

45. W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660* (London: 1860), p. 151.

46. Morgan, *American Slavery—American Freedom*, p. 404.

47. Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 50.

48. Carr, " 'Metropolis of Maryland,' " pp. 138-45.

49. *Md. Arch.*, 3:48-49.

50. PATENTS, 1:34-35.

51. *Md. Arch.*, 4:287; St. Mary's County Rent Roll, 1707, *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 25 (1977):326.

52. *Calvert Papers*, 1:196; *Md. Arch.*, 4:427, 480.

53. Hawley and Lewger, *Relation*, pp. 81-83, 96-98; *Calvert Papers*, 3:25. One earlier piece of evidence survives, Father Andrew White's 1633 "Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltamore," but it is so vague and riddled with errors and misconcep-

tions that it is not an accurate reflection of the Calverts' knowledge and plans; Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 5–10.

54. Lord Baltimore, "Declaration to the Lords" (1638), *Calvert Papers*, 1:226.

55. L. Leon Bernard, "Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 44 (1949): 93–98; Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," pp. 22–23; *Calvert Papers*, 1:193, 209–10; *Md. Arch.*, 4:5–7.

56. Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 36–37; Cyprian Thorowgood, "A Relation of a Voyage . . . to the Head of the Bay," Maryland Department, Young Collection, Document 7, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md.; Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, 30 May 1634, *Calvert Papers*, 3:19–24.

57. Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," p. 22, citing Port Book—E. 190/38, Book 7.

58. Francis Jennings, "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration: The Susquehannock Indians in the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings, American Philosophical Society* 112 (1968): 15–53, maps 1–3; William B. Marye, "Patowmeck above ye Inhabitants," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 32 (1937):293–300.

59. Semmes, "The Ark and the Dove," pp. 18–21; Garry Wheeler Stone, "The Potomac and Upper Bay: The Virginia Interest Versus the Barons of Baltemore," Research Files, SMCC (draft).

60. *Md. Arch.*, 4:14.

61. *Md. Arch.*, 4:22–23; *Calvert Papers*, 1:170–71.

62. *Calvert Papers*, 1:190; *Md. Arch.*, 5:205, 226.

63. *Md. Arch.*, 1:19, 22, 28; *Calvert Papers*, 1:161, 164, 167–68, 173–79, 208–11.

64. *Calvert Papers*, 1:190–91, 197–98.

65. Jennings, "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration," p. 23; John Fullwood's deposition, *Md. Arch.*, 5:231–32; *Calvert Papers*, 1:183; Myers, *Narratives*, pp. 7–129, especially pp. 95–116, "Report of Governor Johan Printz, 1644."

66. *Md. Arch.*, 4:138–39, 148 (Jesuits), 156, 204 (Cornwaleys), 273 (Calvert); 3:102–03 (Evelin, Piscataway), 107 (Patuxent); *Calvert Papers*, 1:191, 210–11 (factories), 212, 215 (Evelin); Stone, "The Potomac and Upper Bay."

67. *Md. Arch.*, 1:36, 38, 42–44.

68. *Md. Arch.*, 4:22–23; *Calvert Papers*, 1:200–01.

69. PATENTS, 1:26; *Md. Arch.*, 3:83–84, 129; 4:22–23, 186, 206, 209–10, 242–43 (Hallowes); 3:91–92, 107; 4:94, 123, 247–48 (Bishop and Demibiell).

70. Hawley and Lewger, *Relation*, p. 75; John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal "History of New England," 1630–1649*, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908; reprint ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), 1:131; *Md. Arch.*, 1:42–43.

71. *Calvert Papers*, 1:163–64; *Md. Arch.*, 3:63, 91; 4:90–91 (games); 4:204 (Cornwaleys).

72. Hall, *Narratives*, p. 10. Father White's description of three annual cycles of planting and harvesting grain is a confusion originating from the phased harvesting of early and late maize in Virginia.

73. Joseph B. Casagrande, Stephen I. Thompson, and Philip D. Young, "Colonization as a Research Frontier: The Ecuadorian Case," in Robert A. Manners, ed., *Process and Pattern in Culture* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964), p. 296; Stephen I. Thompson, *Pioneer Colonization: a Cross-Cultural View*, an Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology, No. 33 (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1973), pp. 14–15.

74. Smith, *Works*, p. 952; Dr. J. E. Foss, personal communication, 16 May 1978, see 134 (soils), Chesapeake File, Research Files, SMCC.

75. Hall, *Narratives*, p. 96; *Md. Arch.*, 4:90, 92.

76. Menard, "Economy and Society," p. 66. In February, 1645, Richard Ingle seized over 200 and probably close to 300 hogsheads of tobacco in Maryland. See my notes in 249.1 (tobacco), Chesapeake File, Research Files, SMCC.

77. Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947; first published London: 1705), pp. 143–44; William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, *Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society*, 2nd Series, no. 103 (London: 1953), p. 118.

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79. Susan Myra Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1906–1935), 4:65; Hall, *Narratives*, p. 82; Smith, *Works*, pp. 885–88.

80. *Md. Arch.*, 4:83, 99; Thomas Tusser, *Thomas Tusser, 1557 Floruit: His Good Points of Husbandry*, ed. Dorothy Hartley (Country Life Limited, 1931; reprint ed., Bath, England: Cedric Chivers Ltd., 1969, and New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970), p. 127.

81. *Md. Arch.*, 4:74.

82. Smith, *Works*, p. 885.

83. *Calvert Papers*, 1:199, 206.

84. *Md. Arch.*, 4:134, 277.

85. Tusser, *Thomas Tusser*, pp. 68, 106, 118, 124; Smith, *Works*, pp. 56, 887, 951; Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 8, 78; Beverley, *History and Present State*, pp. 124, 291; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia: From Whence Is Inferred A Short View of Maryland and North Carolina*, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 78; *Md. Arch.*, 4:276; 5:199.

86. Cows: *Md. Arch.*, 4:47–48, 95, 174–75; 5:187; goats: Smith, *Works*, pp. 486, 885; Maverick, "A Brief Discription of New England," p. 249; *Md. Arch.*, 4:307; PATENTS, 1:379–80; Cuthbert Fenwick, answer 19, *Cornwaleys vs. Ingle*, London, England, Public Record Office, Court of Chancery, C24, 690/14; pigs and chickens: *Md. Arch.*, 4:30, 32, 83, 86, 150.

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88. *Md. Arch.*, 4:95, 174–76, 178, 216, 236, 251, 276, 313; *Calvert Papers*, 1:198–99.

89. *Md. Arch.*, 4:300–01, 305, 381; table 1–4; *Calvert Papers*, 1:215; Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*, 2:67.

90. Inventories, *Md. Arch.*, 4:30–31, 74–95; Smith, *Works*, p. 885; Beverley, *History and Present State*, p. 292; tenant's cattle, *Md. Arch.*, 4:116; loaned cattle, *Md. Arch.*, 4:276; 5:199; sex roles, *Calvert Papers*, 1:196.

91. Wheat: *Calvert Papers*, 1:206 (manorial lords); *Md. Arch.*, 4:483; Jones, *Present State*, p. 137; "Indian cowkeeping youth[s]," *Md. Arch.*, 3:281 (1651).

92. For Leonard Calvert's employment of a cow keep (1639), see *Md. Arch.*, 4:90; for his cow pen (1643), *ibid.*, 4:183; for his blacksmith, PATENTS, 1:27; for Thomas Gerrard's livestock, *Md. Arch.*, 4:135, 143; PATENTS, 1:379–80; for John Lewger, see Garry Wheeler Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewger's St. John's (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982), pp. 102–106.

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96. William Kieft to Leonard Calvert, 9 September 1638, *Descriptive Catalog of . . . Documents Relating to the Early Days of the Colony of Maryland* (Baltimore: n.p., 1934), document 9; Henry Stockden, 22 October 1645, in Glover vs. Ingle, London, England, High Court of Admiralty, 13/60, section Q.

97. *Md. Arch.*, 4:79-85; Port Books, London, *Overseas Exports by Denizens*, 1633-34:f. 119 (E. 190/38/7); 1638-39:f. 98 (E. 190/43/6); 1639-40:ff. 150v, 152, 153 (E. 190/43/1).

98. Menard File, Historical Research Files, SMCC, Annapolis, Maryland; Menard, "Economy and Society," pp. 86-87; additions from PATENTS, 1; *Md. Arch.*, 4.

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104. *Calvert Papers*, 1:312, 216-21; Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (4 vols.; London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1907-1917), *Text*, 1:348-502.

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107. *Ibid.*, 1:132-42.

108. *Ibid.*, 1:167, 173, 179, 182; 4:125.

109. *Ibid.*, 1:117, 130, 140, 180.

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111. *Ibid.*, 1:117, 130, 140, 180.

112. *Ibid.*, 1:2, 89; 3:59, 95-96, 121, 125, 127, 161; 4:186; *Calvert Papers*, 1:185, 187.

113. *Md. Arch.*, 1:120.

114. Indians: *Md. Arch.*, 4:166, 177-84, 254-55; corruption: *ibid.*, 4:133-34.

115. W. K. Jordan. *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (4 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932-1940; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), 1:112-32; 2:54-114, 169-98.

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Maryland History Bibliography, 1983–86

PETER H. CURTIS AND WILLIAM G. LEFURGY
COMPILERS

INTRODUCTION

From 1975 to 1982 the *Maryland Historical Magazine* published annual bibliographies of books, articles, and dissertations relating to Maryland history. Our work picks up where the last such compilation left off, and we plan to continue our efforts on an annual basis. We have consulted a wide variety of sources to obtain the broadest possible coverage, selecting only materials with a primary focus on some aspect of the state's history. We have included as much material published in 1986 as we were able to locate prior to the publishing deadline; other 1986 publications will be listed in the compilation to appear in the spring 1988 issue of the magazine. In addition, works relating to genealogy appear separately [see Thomas Hollowak, "Maryland Genealogy and Family History Material Published in 1983 and 1984: A Bibliography," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 81 (Summer 1986): 171–181].

Bibliographers must live with the fact that their work is never finished. Also, some sources go unnoticed despite the most diligent efforts. Please bring omissions to our attention so that they may be included in subsequent lists. Send any additional items to:

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Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Madge Preston's Private War

VIRGINIA WALCOTT BEAUCHAMP

In the collection of personal papers of the William P. Preston family, prominent Baltimoreans during the nineteenth century, modern readers can find a compelling and moving description of daily life in another time—what they read, what they ate, what they wore; how they dealt with servants, and who these were; how they traveled, and when; how they felt the pinch of hardship in the Civil War; what they thought of political change; what they did for pleasure. Reading more deeply, one begins to know these people in another way—to understand a special dynamic within the family constellation that perhaps few of their contemporaries suspected. “Do any of you who may be our readers know half a dozen happy families in your circle of friends?” This question is posed by a magazine writer in 1864.¹ Although the Prestons, in the charming and entertaining letters they have left behind, seemed to cast themselves among that happy six, the mother’s diaries, in fact, tell quite another tale.²

Although Preston is an important name in Baltimore (indeed, the name of a well-known street), William P. Preston seems to have been unrelated to this distinguished family. A Virginia native, he was a self-made man, rising to prominence as a counsel for creditors of the Bank of Maryland, which failed in 1834. During riots in the following year, Preston under the name of “Junius” published a series of letters that attracted great attention. In 1846, in Philadelphia, he married Margaret Smith, or “Madge,” bringing her to the Fayette Street townhouse where in 1849 their daughter, May, was born. Shortly thereafter he purchased a farm property, Pleasant Plains, on the Hillen Road southeast of Towson town. This became the family’s principal residence. Preston continued, however, to use the Fayette Street house as his law office, traveling often between the two homes.

In 1862 the Prestons decided to send their thirteen-year-old daughter to St. Joseph’s Academy in Emmitsburg, the school operated by the Sisters of Charity which the mother had attended in her own youth. Sometime after Madge’s sojourn there, she had converted to Catholicism, though she came from Frederick County Protestant-German stock. Preston himself, until two years before his death, seems not to have affiliated with any church, but he supported his wife and daughter in their religious commitment. During the five years that May stayed at St. Joseph’s a rich exchange of letters flowed back and forth between Emmitsburg and Pleasant

Virginia Walcott Beauchamp’s “Sisters and Soldiers” essay, published in last year’s summer issue of the magazine, won the 1984 Governor’s Award in celebration of Maryland’s 350th anniversary. This material draws from her forthcoming *A Private War: Letters and Diaries of Madge Preston, 1862–1867* (Rutgers University Press).

Plains. Madge wrote in detail of life at home, May of life in a Catholic boarding school.

Madge's letters are sociable, a kind of written conversation, which she called "a good long talk." If her own words are to be believed, Madge valued these conversations through letters more than face-to-face interactions with favored friends. On the other hand, the self-portrait that is revealed in Madge's diary is frequently less serene. Here she records—often movingly, sometimes angrily—her own innermost feelings. In the medium of the diary she feels free to express the anguish of her private reality—that she was, to use today's language, a battered wife. Madge's diaries can thus be read as a strategy for coping with her humiliating secret.

Her first diary dates from 1 January 1860—two months to the day after her husband, as a candidate for Congress, was assaulted by supporters of his opponent. Preston sustained serious head injuries, including a concussion. From that moment he seems to have undergone a personality change that affected their marriage and required a profound readjustment of his wife. She may have begun the diary to help deal with this change in her life. Indeed she may have urged May's departure for school quite as much to absent the girl from unhappiness at home as to assure her education.

On 15 September 1862, Madge accompanied May to Emmitsburg, traveling by train to Union Bridge and by stage coach beyond. Two days later Madge returned to Baltimore, having left her daughter in the care of Sister Raphael, the school administrator. Once back at Pleasant Plains, Madge wrote an elaborate letter to May, describing with wit and creative flair her journey home.³ She was trying to allay the pangs of homesickness that she was sure would afflict the child. May from the first moment, however, joined contentedly in the school routine.

Among those besides her parents who were left at home were the German housekeeper, a Mrs. Pentz, her son William, and the black servants, Lizzie, Jim, and Kitty. Lizzie, who was free, was married to Jim, a slave; and Kitty, a child of ten, was May's personal property—a Christmas gift to her by a family friend when May was six. Kitty's story, as told from the perspective of her master and mistress, threads through the documents they left behind.

According to the rules of the school, May was allowed to send home only one letter every two weeks. These were written in draft form, corrected by the Sister in charge of writing, and then recopied in May's best script. Madge's letters, like all those addressed to the students, were screened first by Sister Raphael. As semi-public documents the letters of neither mother nor daughter could contain any real intimacies.

At the same time, however, Madge's diary recorded her anger with her husband's secretive ways. Often he stayed in the city overnight, under circumstances Madge found suspicious. Occasionally the Civil War intruded on their private world. The Prestons themselves sympathized with the Confederates. As the war continued, Lizzie and Jim became disruptive. Madge called their behavior "insolent"; but of course they were smelling the approach of freedom. These facts, from her point of view, are also recorded in Madge's diary.

Two days after Christmas in 1862, Madge traveled alone to Emmitsburg for a visit with May. Preston begged off because of the press of work. During Madge's

absence, her closest friend, Auntie Carlon, died suddenly, throwing Madge into a depression. But as spring returned, Madge's life took on more variety. Turning down an opportunity to accompany her friend Mrs. Thomas Hillen on a visit to Emmitsburg, Madge chose instead to make a visit to Philadelphia and then to the Batemans in Brooklyn, New York. This theatrical family included among its members their daughter Kate, the internationally famous young actress. While Madge was there, an old schoolmate of her childhood also turned up—back with exciting talk of the gold fields in California.

The narrative below, created by combining various documents from the Preston collections, recounts the brighter days for Madge as spring returned, including her visits in Philadelphia and New York. Madge could not know it, of course, but her darkest days were yet to come. As the body of Lincoln lay in state a year later, Madge would fear for her life.

To highlight the difference between diary passages and the letters (with the different sense of audience between the two modes of writing), I have used italics for the former. Headings to the diary passages reproduce the days and dates as printed in the book Madge wrote in. May's letter is reproduced exactly as she wrote it to convey its childlike flavor; letters of the adult writers have been slightly altered to modernize punctuation or silently correct inadvertent mistakes. The documents appear according to the chronology of their entrance into Madge's consciousness.⁴

In combining the two sets of documents—the letters, which create the public face whereby members of this family presented themselves to the world at large, and Madge's diaries, which reveal her hidden world—we can perhaps reconstruct what life was truly like for this nineteenth-century family.

Wednesday, March 18, 1863

Cloudy and dull again today, with a slight sprinkle of rain during the day. This morning a German came and bought old Bob the horse, giving me ten dollars for him. I walked down to Mrs Stansbury's this morning to borrow a card of books & eyes, and I remained an hour or two with her.⁵ On my return, I had a most unpleasant scene with Jim. I am really afraid I shall be obliged to tell Mr Preston he must send Jim away. He makes Lizzie impertinent also. I am fixing another of my dresses up. Money is so scarce and dry-goods so very dear, it makes it necessary for everyone to observe as much economy as possible. I must get clothing for May, and will have to do without myself. Mr Preston is still in the city.

My darling child,

Pleasant Plains March 18th 1863

On last Monday, I folded up (after cutting & fixing it as nicely as I could) the linen for the shirt you were so desirous of making for Papa, together with some French books, which . . . Papa was to have put in a box, after purchasing stockings for you, and then to send them off, . . . Professional duties and *St Patrick's day* have detained Papa in town, consequently I am uninformed with regard to the fate of your package. I can only think, trusting to Papa's usual attention to our little commissions, that all is right. . . .⁶

Your last letter mentioned a retreat which was to commence on Saturday, and I suppose to end on the 25th the "Annunciation." This will be altogether a new thing to you, but judging from your meditative disposition, I trust you will derive

much spiritual benefit from your temporary retirement from the cares and anxieties of everyday life. These are great privileges my child that you are permitted to enjoy, and while in possession of them, forget not to pray for those who are deprived of them, but who thirst after the "living waters," with an ardour more acceptable to our Lord than the lukewarmness of those, who while partaking of the life-giving draught are unmindful of its precious blessings. I am quite desirous of giving little Kitty an opportunity of instruction and confession—for that purpose, I contemplate making a visit to the city of several days; . . . while there, I will take Kitty to Rev Mr Foley, and ask him to initiate her into the mysteries of Confession. I would take her to Father Elder . . . but . . . she would not be able to go to him by herself if it were necessary. . . . She herself is most anxious, and is "trying" *to be good*, before she goes. Lately she has talked constantly of you; I suppose as the time approaches for your return, she becomes more anxious to see you. She, together with Lizzie, when they found I was writing to you this evening asked me to please give their loves to Miss May. . . .

I must not forget to tell you of an unexpected visitor we had last Sunday. I had just returned from my usual Sunday walk with Papa when the peculiar barking of the dogs announced the approach of strangers. In a short time, a carriage drew up to the door and Adolphus and his mother alighted.⁷ If you recollect, last Sunday was a very cold day, but plenty of furs and a fine robe had protected them from the cold and they told me they had a pleasant drive all the way from the city. Mrs S—was apparently so well pleased with Papa & myself, that a cordial invitation extended to them to remain to dinner was at once accepted, and I really do not know when I have spent so pleasant a day. . . .

Monday, March 23, 1863

. . . . Lizzie & Kitty planted me a bed of strawberries in the green house, and I have nearly made a frock for Kitty out of May's old red plaid dress.

Tuesday, March 24, 1863

. . . . I finished Kitty's frock and remodeled her Shaker for her, all which pleased her greatly. . . .

Wednesday, March 25, 1863

. . . . I have been greatly shocked by intelligence brought me from town today by Louis. It seems my poor nephew Hamilton⁸ was killed yesterday on the rail road. His body was to have been brought to the city today. I shall go to the city tomorrow, when I hope to learn the particulars.

Thursday, March 26, 1863

Made an early start for the city this morning, driving in the market wagon & two horses on account of the bad roads; the weather was excessively unpleasant, spitting snow & rain, and was cold raw & disagreeable. As soon as I reached the city, I went up to see Mrs Hammond and in the afternoon Tommy & I went down to see the body of poor Ham, which had come on in the night accompanied by Tommy. Tommy is terribly distressed. As the funeral will not take place till tomorrow I am obliged to remain in town all night and have sent Jim home to let Mr Preston know. Tommy is sleeping with me tonight and she & Mr Bartlett go to Washington in the 4 o'clock train tomorrow morning. Hamilton's remains look as natural as

life. It seems the car crushed the back part of his head and his right arm. One would not take him to have been more than 22 years of age though he was almost 30.

Friday, March 27, 1863

Tommy & Mr Bartlett got off early this morning, and returned by one o'clock. Mr Preston came in from the country, and the arrangements being completed, we met at Mr Weaver's to take the body to its final resting place. It was deposited in the Gist family vault in Green Mount Cemetery, and it was really gratifying to his relatives to see so many of his friends in attendance. . . .

Thursday, April 2, 1863

. . . . I had quite an agreeable surprise this afternoon. An old friend Isaac Hartman came out to see me. As I had not seen him since long before we were both married, we had much to say to each other and passed an agreeable hour. He lives in California, his wife & two children are dead and he is alone in the world. He tells me he is likely to be a wealthy man soon. I am glad to hear it. . . .

Saturday, April 4, 1863

. . . . Mr Hartman came out to spend the day with me. I have enjoyed talking over olden times, and hearing Mr Hartman tell of the wonders of that great Eldorado, California, where he resides. He has given me a strong inclination to go there, but I doubt if Mr Preston would ever be willing to go far from this part of the world. . . .

Sunday, April 12, 1863

A warm delightful day with several slight April showers. Rose tolerably early this morning to pack and arrange for my journey {to Philadelphia}. About ten o'clock I walked down to Mrs Stansbury, sat with her an hour and returned, packed my trunk, walked round with Lizzie telling her what I wished her particularly to attend to during my absence. . . ; at five o'clock we left home, reaching the city at seven all safe and comfortable. Mrs Beer & Mrs Stuntz have spent the evening with me,⁹ while Mr Preston went out to hear the news; he has just come in and says, it is thought the Rebels have whipped the Federals terribly at Charleston.¹⁰

My darling child,

Philadelphia April 13th 1863

You will hardly be surprised at the post mark of this letter, as Mrs Hillen must have informed you of my intention to visit our friends both in this city and also in New York. . . . I came in company with Mr Price and his daughter; the latter is a pupil at Madam Chagerey's, and had been home spending the Easter holidays. What would you think of a boarding school where young ladies went to the opera and theatre, rec'd visitors and visited from school, and read novels in their own rooms? I congratulated myself most sincerely that the Fates had not dotted you down in such a school. I found our friend Mrs Simmons and her most interesting little boys anxiously awaiting my coming. . . .¹¹ You will be pleased to learn that dear, little, bright Charley had the great happiness, young as he is (just eleven years old) to make his First Communion during the Holy time of Lent. The little fellow . . . seemed fully impressed with the importance of the occasion, and since then at times his conduct has been quite edifying. . . . I was thinking constantly of you and regretted not being there to enjoy seeing your happiness. . . . Good night. Your Mama

While Madge was in Philadelphia, Preston sent on to her a scrawled note from May. May's letter, misdated, differs from all her earlier correspondence, which had been composed under the watchful eye of the writing teacher. The new letter was crossed out, smudged, and carefree.

My dear Mama,

Emmitsburg Mar [April] 13th 1863

I have for once an opportunity to write to you without anyone but yourself seeing it and I avail myself of it with the *greatest pleasure*. I have staid out with Mrs. Hillen (Mollie and Jeannette of course being along) for two nights. . . .¹² I suppose you would like to hear all our adventures since Mrs Hillen's arrivle infact before. As I did not know that Mrs Hillen was coming up on Saturday I had nothing to look forward to, and went up to sewing class and was stitching away on Papa's shirt when Jeannette came in and asked for Mollie. I thought Mrs Harris only had come so I did not expect to be called out but Jeannette looked up and saw me for the first time and she immediately beckoned to me to come also as I thought she was in fun and was on the point of giving her a black look for teasing me. But when she asked Sister Johanna for me and she told me to go I began to think I had made a mistake, folded up my work and followed them out of the room. Tillie was all ready waiting for us and it was not long before we too were decked out in hoops. Miss Addie Shorb and her brother Bartie . . . had come over from Clairvoix . . . and took us over. Neither Mr Hillen nor Mrs Hillen had arrived but we enjoyed ourselves very much until the stage. . . . Your little May
We are as happy as Queens

Wednesday, April 22, 1863

. . . we arranged this morning to go to Central Park. . . . I am free to pronounce that place when completed the most beautiful spot of the kind on earth. . . .

Thursday, April 23, 1863

This morning Mr H—{Hartman} came early for us, and Mrs B—{Bateman} Mr H—and myself went over to N.York where we spent the day till five o'clock looking at pictures. We went to Fredericks and Mrs B—and myself had our pictures taken, we then went to the Academy of Designs and from thence to Church's picture of Cotopaxi.¹³ I merely record these things for reference not to criticize. I will simply say, I have never looked on such a picture; it is glorious! Mr H—left us at the Brooklyn ferry, and Mrs B went home and I went to Mrs Sweet's, where I spent a delightful evening, reaching home about half past ten o'clock, and rec'd a letter¹⁴ from Mr Preston, said letter being 16 pages long and filled with censure against me for receiving and introducing Mr H into Mrs B—'s family &c &c I did not answer it tonight because I must reflect upon it.

Friday, April 24, 1863

On arising this morning I found I was to have one of my bad headaches today, brought on in a great measure by the excitement produced by Mr Preston's letter. I have been obliged to keep my bed all day. . . .

While Madge was still indisposed, a second letter, milder in tone, came from her husband. But a news clipping folded within its pages disturbed her greatly.

[Preston omitted any salutation]

Baltimore 22 April 1863

I have just received your letter of the 21st. It gives me pleasure to know that you are enjoying yourself—Still it would be well not to tax your powers too far. Crossing ferries at 1 o'clock A.M. is very questionable so far as health is concerned, particularly to a woman of your quiet country habits. This is the third day I have been away from Pleasant Plains—consequently am not able to say anything about movements there. . . .

I inclose to you a slip which I have cut from one of our daily papers announcing the death of our old and esteemed friend Judge Stump—his departure very naturally filled me with painful emotions. I felt however consoled in the knowledge that the old gentleman had died in the bosom of his brother's family and not in some cold-hearted miserable hotel. His death created a painful sensation throughout the community—and a number of his friends on the evening of the announcement were seated in Barnums Hotel sadly discussing his merits, when to the utter astonishment of the party, in walked the old judge—never were men more amazed—one old gentleman actually fainted. I have not seen the Judge . . . but I have no doubt he is alive and well. Mention me kindly to our friends and let them understand that you have my approbation as to the time you may determine to stay with them. Yours truly W P Preston

Dear Mr Preston,

Brooklyn April 25th /63

We spent the greater part of Thursday looking at pictures in N. York. On reaching Brooklyn about five o'clock P.M. Mrs. Bateman went home and drove round to Mrs. Sweet's to spend the evening with the family and some friends, who had been invited to meet me. The evening passed off pleasantly, but on leaving, we found there had been a heavy shower of rain . . . , and . . . my feet were soaking by the time I reached Mr Bateman's. Your letter or . . . "bundle," as dear little Chip called it, . . . was handed to me. In the joy of the moment at having rec'd such a lengthy evidence of kindly feeling, as I foolishly imagined, towards your absent wife—I opened the document and read it to the end.—The revulsion of feeling occasioned by its painful and undeserved remarks, together with the length of time I had sat with cold and wet feet, threw me into such a state of nervous excitement that I went to bed with a severe chill upon me. A restless and unhappy night was followed by a day of terrible nervous headache, which confined me the whole day to my bed. This morning I am somewhat relieved in my head but I feel shattered and depressed to a great degree—perhaps I have "overtaxed" myself and to a "woman of my quiet country habits" the unusual physical exertion and exposure "crossing ferries at one o'clock at night," and undeserved censure in letters, when I had expected pleasant domestic communications and satisfaction on the part of others that the "quiet country woman" was enjoying herself, has been too much for me, and I am now paying the penalty of my imprudence. . . . I am not well enough today to do anything but finish this letter, write another one to Mrs Simmons . . . and loaf about the house and be petted by Mrs Bateman and the children, who are the kindest and most sympathizing creatures in the world to those who need their kindness and sympathy. . . . I shall go to Phil^a on Tuesday—and remain till Saturday. . . . Now my dear Mr Preston, I think you might so

arrange it, as to meet me in Phil^a if only for one night. Come on Friday, attend to your business with Mrs Simmons, and see Kate play Leah for the last time before she leaves for Europe, from which place she may perhaps never return. . . . Now do gratify me in this particular.

Yours of the 23^d post mark was brought to me while in bed yesterday. The tears rushed to my eyes on reading the slip announcing the death of the dear old Judge, and then I felt as if I could give you a good pounding for your own feeling remarks on the subject when the saving clause in your letter revealed the inaccuracy of the publication. . . . Love to Mrs. Beer and family. Truly yours Madge

Sunday, May 3, 1863

. . . . Mrs. Simmons and I went to St John's Church—Oh what emotions crowded on my heart, when I look at the altar, where 17 years ago Mr Preston & I were made man & wife. Good God what terrible events have happened since that time. . . .

Wednesday, May 6, 1863

We had a terrific storm of wind and rain during the night, it was quite alarming, so much so as to prevent my sleeping, all day the storm had still been raging, and tonight there is no abatement of it. The consequence is I have been obliged to remain still at Mr Hoods. I do not regret it, as it is more agreeable to be with Mrs Hood and her family than the little woman {Mrs Simmons}, though she is amiable and cheerful and tries to be agreeable. We have news of a terrible battle having been fought on the Rappahannock, occupying several days. From the reports, the Confederates have completely routed the Union Army.¹⁵ I am quite astonished at the strong Southern sentiment in this city.

Thursday, May 7, 1863

It stormed all night, and it has been cloudy with occasional sprinkles of rain, but notwithstanding I left Hoods' and went up to Simmons,' as I designed to leave for Balt in the half past eleven o'clock train. Mrs Simmons seemed very much annoyed at my staying away so long, and I became rather indignant at some of her remarks. I left at eleven o'clock, reached the train in good time, . . . and in a few hours found myself at the Balt Depot; not meeting Mr Preston I got in a carriage and drove to the house. In a short time Mr P. came and seemed glad to see me. I walked up to see Mrs Hillen and she gave me glowing accounts of May &c &c. We shall stay in tonight.

My dear child

Pleasant Plains May 10th 1863

I had fully intended to devote a large part of today to you; but unfortunately . . . visitors came in and they did not leave us till nearly dark. . . . You know I have been absent one month today, a very long time for me to be away from home. Wonderful changes had taken place during that time—the trees which I had left with bare branches, I found clothed with young and tender leaves, and covered with their beautiful white or pink blossoms, the fields are green with grass, and your favourite flowers, the modest violet and delicate little forget-me-not, are smiling through woods and meadows. . . .

Mrs Beer has been staying out on the farm during my absence and she, together with Lizzie, Kitty and Mrs Pentz were greatly delighted to see me, and I assure you my darling child, I was just as glad to be here again. It is all very well to travel about occasionally. It enlarges one's mind—it makes them acquainted with

new and improved modes of doing things and prevents them from becoming narrow-minded and contracted in their views—but notwithstanding all its advantages, we return with a feeling of satisfaction and firm conviction in our own hearts that there is, in the truthful and beautiful language of the poet—"no place like home." Every thing seems to have gone on very well. . . . Papa has enjoyed good health as well as the rest of the family. Lambs have grown—chickens have increased wonderfully, and turkeys and ducks are trying to do likewise—altogether I am quite satisfied with the condition of affairs during the absence. . . .

I suppose you have heard of the last great battle fought near Fredericksburg—and of the really disgraceful defeat of Hookers Army—the more contemptible as Hooker had boasted that the Southern army would be annihilated, as soon as he (Hooker) should meet them in battle. You will regret to learn that the good and brave General Stonewall Jackson was severely wounded in his arm, and he has been obliged to have it amputated. Pray that he may soon be restored to health and usefulness again. . . . Papa sends love to you as do all the rest of the family. Good night your loving Mother

Wednesday, May 13, 1863

. . . Mrs Stansbury's grand entertainment came off tonight and truly a great affair it proved. The company were assembling from seven to ten. It being an exceedingly dark & rainy night those who came from the city found it very unpleasant, yet notwithstanding, they numbered . . . two hundred & fifty. It was a beautiful sight. The large room finely lighted and so many young and beautiful women gaily dressed, the music and dancing lending a peculiar grace to the scene. The party did not begin to disperse till daylight, it being thought almost dangerous to start during the darkness of the night. I remained, together with Mrs Beer & some other friends till after breakfast this morning. About nine o'clock all had gone but myself. And now begins a laughable, but at the same time, a most distressing part of the affair. Among the many good things provided for refreshments were lobster salad—and deviled crabs. These articles, from some unknown cause, began to show themselves obnoxious to the stomachs of those who had partaken of them. Christie was the first taken, and while . . . attending to her, George—then Ike—after him Mr. Potee, and lastly Dan. The entire day Mrs Stansbury, Miss Julia Battie & myself were attending the sick. The doctor was sent for and when he came in the afternoon he said he had been very sick & only was able to keep about by taking large quantities of whiskey. We heard that nearly every person at the party . . . had suffered in like manner. I never in my life witnessed such suffering. I can't help thinking the food was impure and slightly poisoned those who ate of it. I remained all night again . . . and came home this morning. Mr Preston had complained a good deal today of sickness at the stomach, but tonight he feels a little better. Mrs Beer escaped altogether, but Jim and Lizzie have been very sick. . . .

Saturday, May 16, 1863

. . . Mr Preston & Mrs Beer went to the city this morning, the latter having been out here more than a month. I am glad to be alone again, tho' I was satisfied to make a convenience of her while I went to New York. . . .

Tuesday, May 19, 1863

. . . This afternoon Mr Preston came home; he brought with him a packet brought by

Adam Express from Phil^a containing a beautiful writing desk sent by Mrs Hood to May for a birthday gift. May will be delighted. . . .

Friday, May 22, 1863

. . . . I have finished reading Aurora Floyd, a book Mrs Batemen gave, which I think beautifully written and very interesting. I am alone tonight!

Monday, May 25, 1863

Mr Preston came up early this morning to tell me of heavy cannonading he had been hearing the greater part of the night, and still heard it after daybreak. I am inclined to think it was heaven's artillery and was only a thunder storm. . . .

Tuesday, May 26, 1863

. . . . I forgot to mention yesterday that Mr Preston permitted Lizzie & Jim to take his carriage & horse and drive to the city and spend the day, it being Whitmonday. They came home "all right" but unfortunately broke the carriage. . . .

My darling child,

Pleasant Plains May 26th 1863

Your welcome favor of the 22d came safely to hand late last evening and notwithstanding Papa leaves this morning, I shall endeavour to send by him a letter. . . . I want you as soon as you receive this, to go at once to her Majesty the fair Queen of the South—or more affectionately speaking, to my dear Mollie and tell her though I did not write to her on her birthday, I nevertheless had her and my equally dear Jeannette in my mind and heart and *in my prayers* on that day. I really wanted to write to both of them, but since my return from the North I have had so much to look after—seed planting—little chickens—house cleaning—and spring sewing, together with a number of letters to answer . . . that I have scarcely been able to write to you. . . . Kiss them both and give them as much love as they desire and tell them Aunt Preston sent it; tell them also, while we are looking forward with so much pleasure to your return, we are not unmindful that they are to come also. It is quite amusing to notice how completely they are associated with you in all our arrangements and fixings; whatever Papa plans for you has the "girls" attached to it, and so it is with our neighbours; "They are to do so and so, when May and the 'girls' come home"—"May and the girls" are always blended—the one, *not* talked or thought of without the other. I am pleased to know you are so lovingly united at St Joseph's. These early and youthful friendships are the most pleasant and lasting of any you will ever make. In future years when the cares and trials insuperable to mature life surround you, it will be one of your great pleasures to look back upon your school days and those young and gay companions with whom you are now so happily associated—and fortunate may you all consider yourselves, if your paths through life sometimes mingle together and that you do not find yourselves late in life and at its close among comparative strangers and those who have not known you in childhood and girlish days. . . .

You say your examinations have commenced; believe me my pet, I sympathize with you every hour in the day and sincerely hope and trust you have been sufficiently attentive to your lessons . . . to pass through this trying ordeal with credit to yourself and satisfaction to your kind instructresses. What do you mean by a private Distribution? Does it mean that honors and premiums (if any are to be

awarded) will be given without the presence of parents and friends? If so, I am very sorry for it, as I had intended bringing up with me several ladies who have long wanted to see St Joseph's. . . . I wish you to give my love to Sister Raphael and ask her to please tell you if you will require any other dressing than that you now have and what kind is desirable. . . . Another thing—ask the clothes Sister, if it will be necessary for me to bring up another trunk to put your clothing in, or will she be able to pack some of them in boxes in which they have been sent. . . . When you are packing up for home—please *do not* forget the *carte de visites* that I have sent you at different times, and be sure you bring with you all the letters you may have received during your stay at St Joseph's. . . . God bless you all—Yours
Mama & Aunt.

My darling child,

Pleasant Plains May 31st 1863

Papa *Kitty* and myself have been wandering about this glorious night till it is almost ten o'clock and even now we come in reluctantly. The country, with its fresh spring growth, looks beautifully under this bright moonlight, indeed I think I have never seen Pleasant Plains so beautiful as it is *just now*. The yellow roses . . . are in their first full flush of bloom, some of our finest pink roses are also very abundant and they, together with the fragrant and graceful locust flowers, . . . present a varied and gay scene, lovely as the eye would care to look upon. Papa and I gathered a few very fine strawberries on some vines we have in the greenhouse today—the first . . . we have had, and . . . we wished you were here to enjoy them with us. My garden is beginning to look promising—we only want rain, to start the plants and seed to growing. . . .

Papa sends love to you, as also poor little *Kitty*, who is not very well tonight. Kiss all the young ladies that I know at St Joseph's, and give my love particularly to Mollie and Jeannette. . . . Good night—God bless you—Mama

My dear child,

2 oclock in the morning Aigburth Vale June 6th 1863

The place from whence my letter is dated and the unusual hour . . . will suggest to you some strange and unusual event. . . . I am sitting up in company with Delia, in attendance on the lifeless body of our dear old friend Mrs Owens, who died quite suddenly yesterday morning. The circumstances surrounding were melancholy in the extreme. Mr and Mrs John E. Owens had just returned the day before, from an absence of several months' duration, and found their mother in her usual health and cheerful spirits,—of course there was much to tell and much to hear from both sides. Yesterday morning while engaged in pleasant conversation, the old lady suddenly complained of pain and oppression at the heart and breast; . . . she gave a slight cough and on her son raising her head to enable her to cough more freely, she looked lovingly in his face and from the son, to the dear old husband by her side, then raised her eyes to Heaven and was gone. We pray to be delivered from a sudden death; but when such a death comes to one who has passed a long, peaceful, good and pure life, we cannot help feeling thankful that our friend is spared the pang of sufferings and trials to which perhaps poor human nature might not be equal without showing a degree of fretfulness and impatience, unbecoming a Christian. I was with the family all day and am here tonight and shall not leave till after the funeral. The old lady looks beautifully. Delia and I have

just come in from the garden where we have been gathering, by moonlight, quantities of lovely roses and other flowers and have strewn the body with them. . . .

I went to the city today and received your letter dated May 30th. Owing to Papa having been engaged in a trial all this week at Towsontown . . . it has lain all this time in the post office. In reply to your wish for the blue lawn, you shall surely have it if you desire one, but I think the pretty blue dress you already have, which I made for you last summer just before you left home, is prettier than any lawn I could buy. It has short sleeves and low neck, which I know are objectionable, but I will make a white body with high neck and long sleeves, if you think you would like it, and they are very much worn by young girls this season. I will come up for you the day before Distribution and bring it with me in a trunk, and then Sister can pack your extra clothes in it. . . . Good night affectionately your Mama

Wednesday, June 17, 1863

. . . . I finished May's little frock I designed her to wear at the Distribution but in a letter I rec'd from her this evening, she tells me she cannot wear a thin body; this being thin, I know not what the poor child will do. I shall send it up, as it is too late for me to get another one.

Thursday, June 18, 1863

. . . . Lizzie has been in one of her "spells" all this week and tomorrow being churning day, I fear the butter will be spoiled.

Friday, June 19, 1863

. . . . Mr Preston & I went to the city this morning intending to send May's clothing up for Distribution, but when I got to the P. Office a letter from May informed me that the Distribution was over and the girls wanted to come down with the Sisters on Monday. . . . I wrote at once and sent her money to come down. . . .

NOTES

1. In the *Continental Monthly* of May 1864. The quotation appears in Herman Lantz, Martin Schultz, and Mary O'Hara, "The Changing American Family from the Preindustrial to the Industrial Period: A Final Report," *American Sociological Review*, 42 (1977):406-421. From their reading of over 6,000 magazine articles in the period 1850-1865, the authors propose that this time was particularly stressful to families.

2. The papers, which are separated into two major groups, are stored primarily in the manuscripts collection of the Maryland Historical Society and the Historical Manuscripts and Archives Section of McKeldin Library of the University of Maryland, College Park. No apparent logic explains how these papers have been divided between the two repositories. In addition, a single volume of transcribed travel letters by Madge Preston is housed in the Rare Book Room of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University. A volume of her business letters is privately owned. A few schoolgirl papers of the Prestons' daughter, May, have been preserved in the archives collection of St. Joseph's Provincial House of the Daughters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland. The two major collections include some papers from William P. Preston's law practice, his youthful correspondence and girlhood letters of his wife, exchanges of letters among members of the family and friends, account books, memorabilia, and fourteen volumes of Madge Preston's diaries, written between 1860 and 1893. Fragmentary diaries kept by Preston and May also survive.

3. See "Letters as Literature: The Prestons of Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*

77(1982):213–221, reprinted in *Women's Personal Narratives: Essays in Criticism and Pedagogy*, ed. Leonore Hoffmann and Margo Culley (New York: Modern Language Association, 1985), 29–39.

4. The documents here reproduced have been made available by the Maryland Historical Society (MS. 1861, Madge Preston's 1863 diary; MS. 978, May Preston to Madge, 4/13/63; William Preston to Madge, 4/22/63; Madge Preston to William, 4/25/63) and University of Maryland (all of Madge Preston's letters to May).

5. Mrs. Eudocia Stansbury, owner of the next-door property, Eudowood, on the Hillen Road (the modern Eudowood shopping center at the same site preserves the name).

6. Preston had not returned home the previous evening—perhaps drinking, Madge's earlier diary page had implied, to erase the memory of what occurred the year before on St. Patrick's Day (the death of a former housekeeper after the birth of an illegitimate child). Preston seemed implicated. Madge's oblique suggestion here of what disturbs her, glossed over immediately by public praise for her husband, typifies the many contradictory messages within her papers.

7. A Mrs. Schaeffer, who had worked for Madge as a seamstress.

8. Hamilton Smith, son of Madge's brother. Many years earlier "Ham" had worked for Preston in jobs around the law office. Tommy, referred to in the next entry, was Hamilton's widow, Thomasina. She may have been a Gist (the donor of Kitty was a woman named Thomasina Gist Thrale).

9. Mrs. Beer, a German immigrant, was housekeeper for the Fayette St. residence, Mrs. Stuntz apparently was her sister.

10. A naval expedition of ironclads under Flag Officer Samuel Francis du Pont attempted to capture Charleston on 7 April 1863. The force was repelled with severe damage by Southern gunners under General Pierre Beauregard.

11. Mrs. Simmons was the widow of Azariah H. Simmons, whose estate Preston was managing. This responsibility required frequent trips to Philadelphia, in which Madge often represented her husband. Simmons had been a business partner of A. S. Abell, founder of the Baltimore *Sun*.

12. Mollie and Jeannette Sanders, schoolmates of May's. They were daughters of Beverley Sanders. The decision of these Baltimore girls to enroll at St. Joseph's had influenced May Preston's similar decision.

13. One of a group of paintings by the American landscape artist Frederick Edwin Church done while he visited Quito, Ecuador.

14. Letter not found.

15. The battle of Chancellorsville. Federal troops withdrew across the Rappahannock during the night of 5 May. They lost more than 17,000 men to about 10,000 Confederate casualties.

Book Reviews

Maryland: Old Line to New Prosperity. By Joseph L. Arnold. (Woodland Hills, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1986. Pp. 256. \$24.95.)

California's Windsor Publications scatters local histories across the land in the manner that Andrew Carnegie distributed libraries once upon a time. Carnegie's motive was philanthropic; Windsor is in the business to make money. The books are subsidized by businesses paying to be "Partners in Progress"—advertisers, in other words. The format is standardized in the text, a generous number of pictures, and the business histories, discreetly segregated in the back of the book and normally prepared by someone other than the author of the text.

The book is packaged and presold by Windsor, which gets its money up front, and once published it is marketed by local sponsors. They do a good job of production, professionally speaking. There is no intrinsic reason, save snobbery, to suppose that history subsidized by a university press, say, is superior to history that is commercially underwritten.

Of course, the history is no better than the historian and, in the nature of things, the series of local histories published by Windsor varies widely. Joseph L. Arnold's *Maryland: Old Line to New Prosperity* seems to be ill-suited to the series. It is an economic history of Maryland, the sort of text that would be happier in a monograph than a picture-book, and here mated to photographs that appear to have been chosen for lack of human interest. The reader who is expecting a general history is likely to find Dr. Arnold's book rather specialized.

Look into Suzanne Ellery Greene's *Baltimore: An Illustrated History*, likewise published by Windsor, and you get a good idea of what's been left out.

For instance, Francis Scott Key. The reader may not want yet another full patriotic setpiece, such as Dr. Greene gives, but it's a bit odd to have the incident reduced, in Dr. Arnold's history of Maryland, to second-hand smog: "As the author Walter Lord remarked several years ago after completing his book, *The Dawn's Early Light*, it was fortunate that the British attack on Fort Mchenry occurred prior to the industrialization of the outer harbor, since the air pollution would have prevented Francis Scott Key from seeing either flag or fort in those early morning hours."

Granted, the criticism is unfair. Economic history isn't about battles and elections, or libraries and museums, or ballparks and the bustle of life. But Dr. Arnold's *Maryland* does not know H. L. Mencken or Babe Ruth or Spiro Agnew or Anne Tyler, and more's the pity.

William L. Tazewell, author of a recent history of Norfolk, Virginia, writes a regular book-review column for the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* and the Charlottesville, Virginia *Daily Progress*.

Pirates on the Chesapeake: Being a True History of Pirates Picaroons, and Raiders on Chesapeake Bay 1607-1807. By Donald G. Shomette. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1985. Pp. 344. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$18.50.)

As the novelist John Barth pointed out long ago, the actual history of the Chesapeake Bay country is much more interesting than any writer-constructed fictional world. Over

the centuries both Chesapeake soil and sea have produced a fascinating procession of empire-builders and statesmen, rogues and miscreants, dreamers and fools, saints and sinners.

Pirates on the Chesapeake offers a most welcome addition to the treasure trove of Chesapeake Bay history. Shomette has written a swashbuckling saga of violence and derring-do that will remain a standard work of Chesapeake maritime history for years to come.

For many years piracy on the Chesapeake took a heavy toll in lost commerce and lives. Pirates found a natural haven in the bay during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Freebooters who had taken to piracy on the Spanish Main or along the slave-trading routes of the African coast simply followed the commerce of the Afro-Caribbean world up the Gulf Stream to the Chesapeake. Also, it was easier to plunder the unarmed tobacco fleet of Virginia and Maryland than to seize an armed Spanish galleon. Civil war in seventeenth-century England provided adventurers with an opportunity to secure "letters of marque" from Royalists or Puritans, producing havoc on the Chesapeake—piracy in the name of Christian Reformation. During the Anglo-Dutch conflicts of the late seventeenth century, Dutch privateers roamed the Chesapeake with impunity and Maryland and Virginia were unable to defend themselves against a single thirty-gun man-of-war. Captain Abraham Crijnsen or "Captain Crimson," as the English called him, terrorized and captured the entire Chesapeake tobacco fleet in 1667. Chesapeake merchantmen also had trouble with the Spanish, who were fearful of English territorial encroachment in the New World. From their base in St. Augustine, Spanish authorities encouraged pirates to prey on English sea-borne commerce.

Thus piracy on the Chesapeake belonged to a larger picture of imperial rivalries and European ambitions that made the entire Atlantic coast an area of conflict for Dutch, Spanish, English, and French freebooters. Throughout this period, Shomette argues, "there was an affinity among the rural population of the Bay for pirates and privateers with whom they occasionally bartered and traded." Colonial authorities often trafficked in pirate pelf. The College of William and Mary, Shomette adds, owed much of its original endowment to pirate booty. Guardships stationed at the capes of the Chesapeake to prevent piracy proved ineffectual. Labor shortages in the Chesapeake forced merchants to compete with pirates for the services of common seamen.

Among the intriguing pirates who sailed Chesapeake waters, few were as daring and bloodthirsty as Captain Edward Teach, a privateer who turned pirate following the Peace of Utrecht in Europe in 1715. Known as "Blackbeard" to his contemporaries, this hairy villain gave no quarter. Wearing a brace of pistols and saber, Teach added to his fierce appearance by wearing loose hemp cord matches from his hat. When lit and slowly burning, the matches made Blackbeard's face look like that of a fury from Hell. Commanding a fleet of four vessels and nearly seven hundred men, Blackbeard plundered the Atlantic coastal trade, terrorized the city of Charleston, and added a sixteen year-old planter's daughter to his stable of fourteen wives. Largely through his connections with North Carolina merchants and political authorities who shared in the plunder, Blackbeard remained outside the reach of English law at his pirate headquarters at Bath. Finally in 1718 Blackbeard's plundering became so outrageous that the Crown acted on Virginia Governor Alexander Spotswood's plea for help. That year at the Battle of Ocracoke British warships grappled along side the pirate fleet. After a long and bloody contest, Blackbeard fell dead, having suffered twenty-five saber wounds and five pistol shots. As an example to all pirates, Blackbeard's severed head went on display in public and later his skull was fashioned into a drinking cup—a fate that Blackbeard no doubt would have liked.

During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), French privateers invaded the Chesapeake and inflicted heavy losses on tidewater trade. The English responded by recruiting their own privateers. This maritime conflict soon degenerated into a jackal's feast with

scant regard to the interests of either nation. That Chesapeake commerce survived at all is a source of wonder, for in the Atlantic it was often difficult to distinguish friend from foe. Colonial merchants threaded their way through this dangerous world with bribery and Christian forbearance.

The final plague of pirates came during the American Revolution. Ostensibly enlisted in the Tory cause, these Chesapeake "picaroons," as they were called, commanded shallow water barges and ships that allowed them to plunder far upriver. The picaroons pillaged towns like Vienna on the Nanticoke River and torched the plantations of patriotic militia leaders. Often large numbers of escaped black slaves joined the picaroon bands. Of these "Tory Villains," the most outrageous was Joseph Wheland, a pirate and arsonist. Based in Dames Quarter, Wheland terrorized Somerset County and the upper Chesapeake for several years. The picaroons preyed on supply ships bound up the bay for the relief of General Washington's army. Only peace brought an end to their depredations. By 1807 the last French privateer on the bay had been scared into respectability and the age of piracy on the Chesapeake had come to an end.

A veteran writer and researcher on Chesapeake lore, Donald Shomette has struck pirate gold in this work. He has assembled a cast of rogues worthy of any Errol Flynn or Douglas Fairbanks movie. His study is meticulous and amply footnoted. Good history strives to be scholarly, informative, and entertaining. Shomette's *Pirates on the Chesapeake* is very good history indeed.

JOHN R. WENNERSTEN

University of Maryland, Eastern Shore

Lives of Caroline County, Maryland Physicians, 1774-1984. By Christian E. Jensen. (Published by the author, 1986. Pp. 227, photographs. No price given.)

In this unpretentious, well-organized, leisurely-paced book, Dr. Christian E. Jensen, M.D. succeeds in bringing to life individual country physicians of Caroline County while also offering his readers many glimpses into medical practices and customs, as well as human traits and idiosyncrasies, of bygone days.

The author is at his best in the biographical entries for pre-Civil War physicians. Apparently Caroline County had more than its share of statewide medical luminaries, including Dr. William Billingsley Keene (1775-1857) and Dr. John Young (?-1824), who in 1799 were among the Founders of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland. Dr. Jensen even found a Dr. Henry F. Rousert (1785-1871) who "fought at Waterloo", but—somewhat improbably—reportedly served under both Napoleon and Wellington! Only when writing about Dr. Nathaniel Potter (1770-1843) does the author lose his finely-tuned sense of historical proportion. He calls Potter "the greatest man of his age." Dr. Jensen offers many lively examples of a species now seemingly extinct—the "versatile physician entrepreneur." We can hypothesize, without unduly stressing our historical imagination, that the meager financial rewards of country medical practice in the two previous centuries provided a great incentive to entrepreneurial talent.

Over the years the microcosm of Caroline County medical practice reflected the discoveries, trends, even the fads of Maryland and the country at large. Homeopathy, a recurrent medical sect, made great inroads into the orthodox practice because of its frequently demonstrated advantages over traditional forms of therapy. Dr. Samuel Harper of Caroline County (1805-1871) was one of the orthodox physicians who adopted the methods of homeopathy; indeed, he felt so strongly about it that he openly advertised his services as a

homeopathic physician, a step that cost him his membership in the prestigious Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland.

Other interesting items presented in Dr. Jensen's book include the name of a lady who was arguably the earliest female physician in Maryland, Dr. Harriet Noble Purte (1848–1904), preceding Drs. Mary Sherwood, Lillian Welsh, and Helen Brooke Taussig. This entry stimulates the reader's curiosity, but does not satisfy it because the author was unable to unearth much information about Dr. Purte.

Caroline County also appears to have been among the first counties to send a black physician, Dr. Horace Leon Smallwood (1903–1965), into the local white medical establishment. Dr. Smallwood served as clinician for the Caroline County Health Board and became vice-president of the county medical society.

Alphabetically-arranged, easy-to-handle, and exhaustive, this volume provides a valuable research tool for anyone interested in medicine, genealogy, and local history.

LOU ROSE

Calvert County Historical Society

Thimblerriggers: The Law v. Governor Marvin Mandel. By Bradford Jacobs. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984. Pp. x, 228. Index. \$22.50.)

In his pungent foreword to Bradford Jacobs' *Thimblerriggers: The Law v. Governor Marvin Mandel*, William Manchester describes the work as "a political morality tale, more a study in ethics than political science" (xiv). Indeed, it is. Jacobs splendidly exhumes the remains of Maryland's sordid political past and traces the scourge to former Governor Marvin Mandel. He offers insights into a political morality that may be indigenous to the United States and to Maryland in particular. As morality tale, "Thimblerriggers" is educational reading. As analysis of a criminal case made accessible to laypersons, it succeeds on a grand scale. As an autopsy report on a malignant system of political deal-making, it examines more clearly than might any judicial proceeding the "cause of death" of one member of the family. Not least among reasons to read this book might be to satisfy oneself of Mandel's guilt.

The book recounts in pleasing detail the course of the federal government's investigation and prosecution of Mandel and his five codefendants: brothers Harry and William Rogers, Dale Hess, Irvin Kovens and Ernest Cory. The story is by now familiar: Mandel's cronies secretly purchased Marlboro Race Track. With Mandel's help, the new owners arranged for the assembly to enhance the value of the track through the enactment of favorable legislation. That effort succeeded in part and failed in part. In return, Mandel's codefendants made substantial payments of cash and business interests to the governor, who, perhaps coincidentally, found himself in dire need of funds to finance his divorce from Barbara Mandel (his wife of more than twenty years) and to meet financial needs attendant to his marriage (before the ink dried on his divorce decree) to Jeanne Dorsey, a Southern Maryland socialite eighteen years his junior. The investigation by the United States Attorney led ultimately to Mandel and revealed an unseemly pattern of secret dealings between his codefendants and Mandel. The defendants were convicted of several federal violations including tacketeering and mail fraud. In what became a fleeting controversy among legal scholars and commentators, the convictions were affirmed on appeal by virtue of an equal division of the judges of the United States Court of Appeals. The defendants (except Cory) served prison terms of varying lengths.

The title, as the author tells us, describes that species of con men whose *modus operandi*

consists in the "shell game": "Bet cha can't find the pea!" Thus Jacobs leaves little doubt about how he views the case against Mandel and how he would have voted had he been a juror. Jacobs begins with a brief review of the sordid dealings of Maryland Senator Arthur P. Gorman's organization from the 1870s through 1895. How much of Marvin Mandel's fate, asks Jacobs, was determined by pressures outside the man himself? He traces the moral highs and lows of Maryland political history through the halting reformist tradition that in 1919 brought Governor Albert C. Ritchie to power. Jacobs then concludes the first third of the book with brief sketches of the administrations of governors O'Connor, Lane, and Tawes, while offering opinions on the Republican Party's failure to seize power during Democratic lows. In a stylistic wrinkle that seems to work in spite of itself, he appends to each chapter a vignette narrowly focused upon some aspect of the actual Mandel proceedings (e.g., the cross-examination of Mandel and of Irving "Tubby" Schwartz, holder of legal title of Irvin Kovens' shares in Marlboro; the termination of the first trial as a result of two attempts at jury tampering).

Readers will most likely find the heart of the book, chapters 6–11, the most readable and the most penetrating. Jacobs' marshalling of the evidence against the defendants is at once compelling and—true to his journalist training—objectively presented. He declines to embrace the theory that the former governor's amenability to corruption sprang primarily from his money needs ("transfer taxes") arising from his divorce and subsequent marriage. Nevertheless, the account of the former governor's mid-life crisis is as full and revealing as is reasonable given that, as one would expect, neither of the principals would discuss the subject.

Chapters 7–12 chronicle the evidence assembled by the United States Attorney's Office and the manner in which the evidence began to point to the governor. They are written in a style reminiscent of the engaging detective yarn. The author's occasional resort to the first person—indeed, stream of consciousness—works well here. Jacobs has managed to write an interesting and lively "thriller" whose climax the reader already knows. That we know "the butler did it" does not significantly diminish our interest in learning, once again, exactly how he did it.

For readers untrained in the law, Jacobs's explanation of the convoluted procedural course that took the Mandel case to two tie votes in the appellate court provides proof that the legal system does not, sometimes, answer important questions. Jacobs has done his homework in grasping the niceties of legal issues and in translating legal jargon. Many lawyers, however, will recognize a slip: Jacobs asserts that if the appellate court had found a lack of sufficient evidence, "a retrial would have been obligatory and would have been ordered." On the contrary, absent a possible but narrow exception, by force of the double-jeopardy clause of the Fifth Amendment, the opposite is true: a retrial would have been absolutely prohibited. One readily forgives Jacobs: lawyers lately have had great difficulty discerning the contours of the Supreme Court's jurisprudence in this area.

In sum, *Thimblebiggers* is an enjoyable, readable book. Not everyone will agree that Mandel was a victim of rapidly changing political morality. Longstanding tolerance of public dishonesty simply does not justify current immorality in government. Jacobs equivocates at times on this proposition. Nor will all agree that the exercise of First Amendment rights—the often-obscene infusion of private money into political campaigns—really accounts for public corruption. Jacobs' historical narrative, his cogent account of the investigation and the evidence it produced, and his insights into current political morality make the book a worthwhile investment.

ANDRÉ M. DAVIS

University of Maryland School of Law

Books Received

Johns Hopkins has reissued in paperback the leading biography of Maryland's best-known contributor to American letters, Carl Bode's *Mencken* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1969). In a fresh preface Professor Bode notes that in the 1960s, when he researched this work, two large collections of Menckeniana remained closed in accordance with the sage's wishes and that he had proceeded on the quite Menckenesque premise that "life is a gamble." Since 1971 much of that material has become available to the public. The now-open letters have not compelled Professor Bode to re-think his treatment or appraisal of Mencken, who indeed in late middle age informed readers ("amiably but firmly" in Bode's words) "that he had altered none of his views since his mid-20s." Newly viewed Mencken diaries from the early and mid-1940s do demonstrate, Bode tells us, all too clearly how bitter and isolated the Baltimorean became in his last years. All the same, Mencken remains a colorful and important Marylander. In his prime Walter Lippmann described him as "This Holy Terror from Baltimore." He was "splendidly and exultantly alive," Lippmann continued, "and he increases your will to live."

Johns Hopkins University Press, \$9.95

Frank W. Porter III, student of the early Maryland frontier and a frequent contributor to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, has published another helpful reference work, *In Pursuit of the Past: An Anthropological and Bibliographical Guide to Maryland and Delaware*. Porter's volume comprises number 8 in a series that includes works on the Sioux, Cherokee, and Osage tribes; it supplements his earlier works that include *Maryland Indians: Yesterday and Today* (Baltimore, 1983) and *Indians in Maryland and Delaware: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, Ind., 1979). Along with its 130 pages of annotated bibliographic entries (primary and secondary sources), *In Pursuit of the Past* contains a history of the anthropological and archaeological disciplines in Maryland. They began with amateur investigations (and attempts to save) native petroglyphs or stone markings near Bald Friar, on the Susquehanna, and in the 1880s grew more systematic with the appearance of professional anthropological and ethnological societies. Even so, Porter points out, scholars neglected the Nanticoke and Piscataway tribes until the 1930s—by which time white society had absorbed many of them and thus undercut study of their culture. Porter pays tribute to pioneering twentieth-century students of Maryland Indians—E. Ralston Goldsborough, a civil engineer who took up research in the Monocacy Valley; William B. Marye, a Kingsville native who returned attention to the Susquehanna Petroglyphs; Richard Stearns, who worked in the Potomac valley; and Judge William J. Graham of Port Tobacco. Porter's chapter on the "Search for Indian Survivals" best justifies his title, for it tells of interesting detective work—both in field and genealogical sources.

Scarecrow Press, \$25

University of Delaware scholars—Claudia L. Bushman, Harold B. Hancock, and Elizabeth Moyne Homsey—with the assistance of the Delaware Heritage Commission have published a valuable Revolutionary-era sourcebook for that state in the *Proceedings of the Assembly of the Lower Counties on Delaware 1770–1776, of the Constitutional Convention of 1776, and of the House of Assembly of the Delaware State 1776–1781*. The collection makes important documents available to the public and researchers for the first time. It offers

views of leaders like Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean, and John Dickinson in action; it also contains a wealth of information about the interests of a society closely resembling and closely tied to the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

University of Delaware Press, \$49

In July 1798 the Federalist Party helped to seal its own fate by passing a highly unpopular tax on personal property. Federal commissioners in each state established districts and appointed underlings to go about and determine the value of lands, houses, and slaves in every locality. These assessors arrived at the value of dwellings in part by counting the number and size of windows (so that citizens came to call the act the "window tax"); their "particular assessment lists" carefully logged the names of property owners, the dimensions of their dwellings and outbuildings, and the size of their land-holdings. Microfilmed, these records have long been available at the Maryland Historical Society. Now George J. Hovarth, Jr. has gathered material for Baltimore County and the Frederick County hundreds that later made up Carroll County and made it accessible in print. *The Particular Assessment Lists for Baltimore and Carroll Counties, 1798* should prove fascinating to Maryland genealogists and social historians alike.

Family Line Publications, \$14

News and Notices

DELAWARE ART MUSEUM TO OPEN NEW WING IN MARCH 1987

A New Delaware Art Museum will open to the public on March 29, 1987 in celebration of the Museum's 75th Anniversary. The \$3.8 million building project includes renovation of the existing facility and construction of a 27,000 square foot contemporary addition. Construction and renovation will provide much enhanced public space, double the permanent collection gallery space, new collection storage facilities for the Museum's rapidly growing collections of American art and illustration, and a stunning new 4,000 square foot temporary exhibition gallery.

To commemorate the Museum's Grand Opening, the Delaware Art Museum has organized a major retrospective of over 250 works by Howard Pyle in a joint exhibition with the Brandywine River Museum in Chadds Ford, Pennsylvania. This collaborative exhibition will celebrate not only the genius of Howard Pyle as an artist but also his enduring and profound influence as a teacher.

Museum hours are Monday through Saturday from 10 to 5 and Sunday from 1 to 5. After the Grand Opening, the Museum will be open on Tuesday evenings as well.

SYMPOSIUM ON THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

The United States Capitol Historical Society will sponsor a symposium entitled "To Form a More Perfect Union": The Critical Ideas of the Constitution" on March 26 and 27, 1987. The meeting will be held in the Senate Caucus Room, SR-325, in the Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. The program will consist of four sessions and a concluding lecture, followed by a reception. Speakers will include Herman Belz, James MacGregor Burns, John P. Diggins, Edward J. Erler, James H. Hutson, Calvin C. Jillson, Isaac Kramnick, Ralph Lerner, Edmund S. Morgan, Jennifer Nedelsky, Peter S. Onuf, J. R. Pole, Jack N. Rakove, and Jean Yarbrough. All proceedings, including the reception, will be open to interested persons free of charge, and no advance registration is required. For additional information, write:

Professor Ronald Hoffman
Department of History
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland 20742

CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Loyola College will host the 13th Annual Conference of the Middle Atlantic Historical Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities on Saturday, March 28, 1987. At the luncheon, Dorothy M. Brown, professor of history and coordinator of academic planning at Georgetown University, will deliver an address entitled: *History: Changes in the Core*. Everyone teaching at an institution that belongs to the Association is invited to participate; proposals for papers or panels in any field of historical study should be submitted by January 5, 1987 to the conference coordinator: Nicholas Varga, in care of the Department of History, Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland 21210.

NEW EDITOR ANNOUNCED

The History Department of Princeton University announces the appointment of John Catanzariti as the new director and editor of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Dr. Catan-

zariti, formerly the director and editor of the Papers of Robert Morris, assumed his position on 1 January 1987.

MARYLAND HOUSE AND GARDEN PILGRIMAGE

In 1987 the Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage will celebrate their fiftieth anniversary. A special event in celebration of the anniversary is a symposium centered around Homewood House on the campus of Johns Hopkins University prior to the Pilgrimage tours. Tickets for each tour are \$12.00 or \$4.00 for a single house. For more information call (301) 821-6933.

CORRECTION

The source of figure 1 of Steven Lubar's article, "Trolley Lines, Land Speculation and Community-Building: The Early History of Woodside Park, Silver Spring, Maryland" was incorrectly identified in the Winter 1986 issue of the *MHM*. Its source should read: Metropolitan Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. Published by Fava Naeff, 1890.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle presents a photograph from the collection of the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society Library. Test your knowledge of Maryland's past by identifying this Baltimore scene. What is the location of the photograph? When was it taken?

The Winter 1986 Picture Puzzle has been identified by Francis P. O'Neill and Walter C. Dippold as the Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church at the corner of Park and Lafayette.

Congratulations are extended to Walter C. Dippold, David V. Heise, and Wayne R. Schaumburg for correctly identifying the Fall 1986 Picture Puzzle as the intersection of Howard, Liberty, and Lombard Streets decorated for Baltimore's 150th anniversary.

Send your response to the Spring 1987 Puzzle to:

Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society
201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201



Contributors' Guidelines

The editors welcome contributions that broaden knowledge and deepen understanding of Maryland history. With one of the largest readerships of any state historical magazine and with traditional ties to the scholarly community, the *MHM* aims to combine professional and "popular" history—to engage that broad audience while publishing the latest scholarly research on Maryland. Thus we especially solicit pieces that raise good questions, build on newly discovered or re-studied evidence, and make one's findings interesting and readable. We invite amateur historians to consider and make clear the significance of their essays and remind scholars that they address not specialists alone but a wide, literate public.

MANUSCRIPTS. Authors must type manuscripts, double-spacing lines in *both text and* (on separate pages) *endnotes*.

Please use bonded, standard-sized (8½" × 11") white paper, dark ribbon (avoid hard-to-read dot-matrix printers), and leave ample margins. Avoid breaking words at the end of lines.

Because articles normally go to an outside reader for a blind evaluation, we ask that they arrive in duplicate (either carbon or photocopy) with the author's names on separate title pages.

The *MHM* does not use sub-headings for sections; please ensure that the topic of each new section makes itself self-evident to readers.

For most rules governing format, follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (13th edition, 1982). For questions about spelling and hyphenation, consult *Webster's New World Dictionary* (2d college edition, 1980). Authors unsure of grammatical and literary points may ask the associate editor for a copy of our writers' help sheet.

QUOTATIONS. Quoted words and passages give immediacy and poignancy to a manuscript, giving the past its own flavor and allowing past figures to use their own language. Nonetheless one might guard against overquoting and quoting the commonplace; authors should check to ensure that their quotations are indeed "quotable." *They must carefully check the accuracy of all quotations and obtain permission to quote from manuscripts and published materials.* Transcribing handwritten sources (letter, diaries, etc.) presents special problems; on the Expanded Method, a set of rules that follow good sense and lend consistency, see Handlin et al., *Harvard Guide to American History*, pp. 95–99 and Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 1:xxv. Lengthy quotes (best avoided where possible) should also be double-spaced, indented five spaces from the left margin. Ellipses or dots indicate omitted material—three within a sentence, four when the omission includes a period. Since almost every quote follows and precedes something, ellipses usually are not necessary before and after quotes.

TABLES. Tables should be numbered in Arabic numerals, each one preferably on a separate sheet, with any notes pertaining to it below (mark footnotes to tables with raised letters rather than numbers). Each table must bear its own self-explanatory title and within it *authors must double-check all arithmetic*. Note in the margin of the text where each table belongs; references in the text should appear in parentheses within punctuation, e.g., (see Figure 1).

ILLUSTRATIONS. Authors bear responsibility for supplying the prints, photos, maps, etc. that illustrate their material. One need only send photocopies of possible illustrations (generally no more than one per five or eight pages of text) upon submitting an article. Once the editor accepts a piece, *authors must obtain camera-ready copies and necessary permissions to reprint.* Authors also pay any reproduction fees or costs of alterations/artwork. Please send captions and credits (or sources) for each camera-ready illustration. Printers usually define camera-ready images as black and white photographs. Slides may prove feasible; hand-drawn maps and free-hand lettering generally do not.

ENDNOTES. Notes identify sources of direct quotations and permit the author to insert important additional information. Cardinal rules are clarity, consistency, and brevity. One should avoid gratuitous footnoting and if possible while remaining clear, group citations by paragraph. Indicate footnotes with a raised numeral in text, outside of punctuation and quotation marks.

First citations must be complete. Later use sensible short references, not the outdated and often-confusing *op. cit.* Where a note cites the source immediately preceding it, use *ibid.* (we no longer underline this Latin abbreviation; because it means "in the same place," refrain from "in *ibid.*"). Underline published titles only. One may safely abbreviate the lengthy titles of antique publications. *Use Arabic numerals throughout, even for journal volume numbers.* When a reference includes a volume number, use it, a colon, and page numbers rather than p. or pp. Where pagination within a journal runs consecutively by volume, one need not cite specific issues.

Check newspaper titles for completeness. Italicize place name only if part of the masthead; otherwise location precedes title (see below). *Follow day-month-year format in text and notes alike.* Old and recent newspaper references vary according to stated information and the news vs. features distinction.

Please cite manuscript collections as fully as librarians at each repository request. Citations of Maryland Historical Society holdings must include collection and box numbers; abbreviate MdHS.

Check the *Chicago Manual* for standard cites for various government publications and records.

Examples of common formats (please also note numbering, indentation, and spacing):

1. George H. Callcott, *Maryland & America, 1940-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), pp. xi-xii.

5. Callcott, *Maryland & America*, p. 210.

8. Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters; The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams* (2 vols.; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1959), 1:107.

10. Cappon, *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 2:214.

11. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 1:133.

13. *Archives of Maryland*, 14:12.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

12. "An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, in Maryland, near Virginia . . ." and "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage Unto Maryland . . ." in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*, *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), pp. 7-8, 40-45.

25. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.) 34 (1977): 542-71.

27. Carr and Walsh, "Planter's Wife," pp. 569–70.
19. Tommy R. Thompson, "Debtors, Creditors, and the General Assembly in Colonial Maryland," *MHM* 72 (1977): 67.
25. "Walking the Ecological Tightrope," *Maryland Magazine*, 9 (Autumn 1977): 23.
3. Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 4 July 1776.
5. *Maryland Gazette*, 5 July 1776.
12. Elizabeth Town (Hagerstown) *Washington Spy*, 10 November 1795.
14. *Washington Spy*, 15 December 1795.
16. John Smith to editors, *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 12 March 1948.
44. Donald Baker, "Is Baltimore Truly Back?" *Washington Post*, 24 November 1984.
4. Photostatic copy, "Articles of Association incorporating the St. Paul's School of St. Paul's Parish" (1853), St. Paul's School Library, Brooklandville, Md.
2. Baltimore Central Stables, 1888 account book, p. 87 (MS. 959, MdHS).
11. Fillmore to Carroll, 23 July 1856, Anna Ella Carroll Papers, MS. 1224, MdHS.
12. Fillmore to Carroll, 26 July 1856, *ibid.*
10. Fillmore to Isaac Newton, 1 January 1855, Fillmore Papers, Buffalo Historical Society.
20. Somerset County Judicials, 1692–1693, f. 10–18, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
33. *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates . . . December Session 1846* (hereinafter cited as *JHD*), p. 77.
35. *JHD* (1846), p. 88.
39. *Laws of the State of Maryland . . . 1908*, chap. 606.
35. *Congressional Record*, 71st Cong., 2d sess., 1930, 72, pt. 10:10828–30.

GALLEYS. Authors take primary responsibility for the logic, rightness, and accuracy of their work. As a rule, before a piece goes to press, the editor will send contributors the copyedited text, whereupon they may either accept or reject any changes. Once a given piece goes to press, authors receive galley sheets for their inspection and proofreading for printer's errors (these galleys must be returned in the shortest time possible). At that point *substantive changes may entail billing for the costs of resetting type.*

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ANDERSON, GEORGE MCC. *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck, 1828-1912*, who chose for his name the anagram V. Blada. 222pp. Illus. 1970. \$20.00

ARNOLD, GARY. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Lloyd Papers*. 27pp. 1973. 41 reels. \$2.00

BOLES, JOHN B. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the John Pendleton Kennedy Papers*. 30pp. 1972. 27 reels. \$2.00

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HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage*. 31pp. Illus. 1984. \$3.00

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KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland, A Directory*. 44pp. 1981. \$3.00

LEVY, RUTH BEAR. *A Wae Bii O'Scotland. Growing Up In Lonaconing, Maryland, At The Turn of The Century*. 67 pp. 1983. \$8.00

LEWIS, H. H. WALKER. *The Lawyers' Round Table of Baltimore and Its Charter Members*. 86pp. 1978. \$7.50

LEWIS, H. H. WALKER. *Without Fear or Favor* (A biography of Roger Brooke Taney). 556pp. 1965. \$7.50

MANAKEE, BETA K. AND HAROLD R. *The Star-Spangled Banner: The Story of its Writing by Francis Scott Key at Baltimore, 1814*. 26pp. Illus. 1954. \$1.00

MANAKEE, HAROLD R. *Indians of Early Maryland*. 47pp. 3rd printing. 1981. (paperback) \$3.00

MANAKEE, HAROLD R., AND WHITEFORD, ROGER S. *The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland)*. 78pp. 1959. \$5.00

MARKS, BAYLY ELLEN. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the David Baillie Warden Papers*. 21pp. 1970. 5 reels. \$2.00

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MARKS, LILLIAN BAYLY. *Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown . . .* (Reister and allied families). 251pp. 1975. \$15.00

MARTZ, RALPH F. *The Martzes of Maryland*. 189pp. 1973. \$5.00

MCCAULEY, L. B. A. *Hoen on Stone: Lithographs of E. Weber & Co. and A. Hoen & Co., Baltimore 1835-1969*. 52pp. Illus. 1969. \$7.50

MEYER, MARY K. *Genealogical Research in Maryland—A Guide*. 3rd Ed. 80pp. 1983. \$8.00

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PLEASANTS, J. HALL. *Joshua Johnston, The First American Negro Portrait Painter*. 39pp. Illus. repr. 1970. \$3.00

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SANNER, WILMER M. *The Samner Family In the United States*. 3 vols. each \$7.50

SANNER, WILMER, M. *The Sanner Family In the United States*. 5 vols. in one cloth-bound volume. 1968. \$25.00

STIVerson, G. A. AND JACOBSEN, P. R. *William Paca: A Biography*. 103pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) \$4.95 (hard cover) \$7.95

THOMAS, DAWN F. AND BARNES, ROBERT F. *The Greenspring Valley: Its History and Heritage*. 2 vols. 602pp. Illus., with genealogies. 1977. \$17.50

WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. *Furniture in Maryland, 1740-1940*. 344pp. 1984. \$32.50

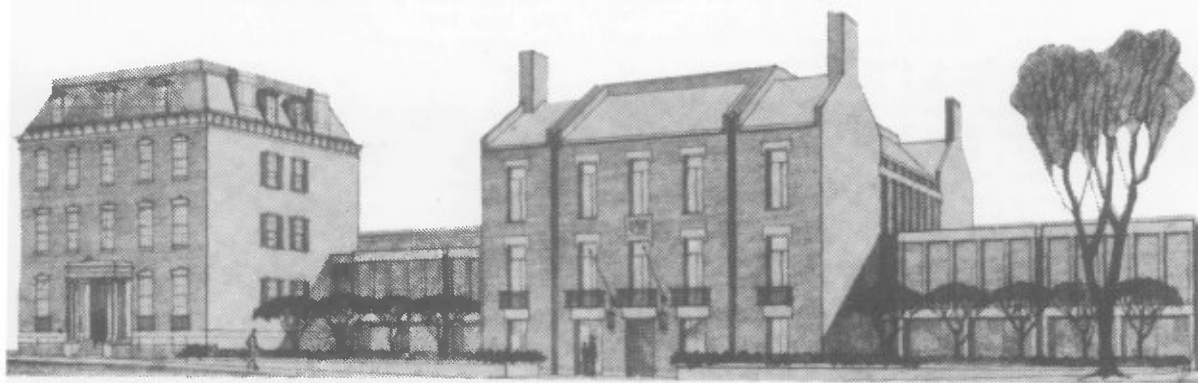
Maryland Heritage: Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Bicentennial. Ed. by J. B. Boles. 253pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) \$7.50 (hard cover) \$15.00

Parade of Fashion: Costume exhibit, 1750-1950. 35pp. Illus. 1970. \$4.00

(Peale Family) *Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society*. 187pp. Illus. 1975. \$7.00

Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. 24 titles, 1945-1962. Important for schools; all available. each \$2.50 set \$5.00

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The Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

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